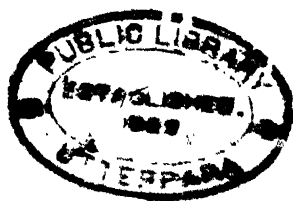


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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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INDIAN NATIONALITY.

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V.

PERHAPS I have expanded unduly the study of Hinduism and nationality, but my study cannot be complete without a reference to Sir Rabindranath Tagore's recent book called *Nationalism*. As the finest representative of Hinduism before the world he speaks with an authority which commands immediate respect. Sir Rabindranath does not confine himself to Indian nationalism. He speaks of nationalism in general and of its bearings on particular states and peoples, but by far the most interesting of all is his application of modern nationalism to India.

Sir Rabindranath is bitterly opposed to nationalism, a fact which reminds one forcibly of the Roman Catholic historian Lord Acton. To the Roman Catholic the word nationality is taboo. To Sir Rabindranath nationalism is detestable, but for different reasons. To nationalism he ascribes the blame for many of the evils of Western culture and with great eloquence he pleads for India working out her own destiny in her particular way. Western nationalism is political. India's problem is not political; it is social.

This, the keynote of Sir Rabindranath's appeal, is a conclusion from a study of caste, for he speaks of *Hindu*, not Indian society. We have, it is true, a political problem in India—an imported problem—but before that problem is approached, the social problem must be solved. India, he says, has never had a real sense of nationalism. "From the earliest beginnings of history India has had her own problem constantly before her—it is the race problem. Each nation must be conscious of its mission, and we in India must realise that we are trying to be political, simply because we have not yet been finally able to accomplish what was set before us by our providence."

Nationalism in India, therefore, "is a great menace. It is the particular thing which for years has been at the bottom of India's troubles. And, inasmuch as we have been ruled and dominated by a nation that is strictly political in its attitude, we have tried to develop within ourselves, despite our inheritance from the past, a belief in our eventual political destiny." This "eventual political destiny," he trusts, will not be reached by way of armament firms or by cut-throat commerce. In Europe, where the racial problem has been solved, nationalism has taken the character of political and commercial aggressiveness: "For on the one hand they, *i.e.*, the people of Europe had no internal complications, and on the other they had to deal with neighbours who were strong and rapacious. To have perfect combination among themselves and a watchful attitude of animosity against others was taken as a solution of their problems. In former days they organised and plundered, in the present age the same spirit continues and they organise and exploit the whole world."

Sir Rabindranath recognises the good of the Western contact with India, but "Europe has her past. Europe's strength therefore lies in her history. We in India must make up our minds that we cannot borrow other people's history, and that, if we stifle our own, we are committing

suicide. When you borrow things that do not belong to your life they only serve to crush your life." India therefore must follow her own destiny. Her aspirations are not material like those of the West. "Our ideals have been evolved through our own history, and even if we wished, we could only make poor fireworks of them because their materials are different . . . as is also their moral purpose. If we cherish the desire of paying our all to buy a political nationality, it will be as absurd as if Switzerland had staked her existence on her ambition to build up a navy powerful enough to compete with that of England. . . .

"We must know for certain that there is a future before us and that future is waiting for those who are rich in moral ideals and not in mere things. And it is the privilege of man to work for fruits that are beyond his immediate reach and to adjust his life, not in slavish uniformity to the examples of some present success or even to his own prudent past, limited in its aspiration, but to an infinite future bearing in its heart the ideals of our highest expectations."

No words of mine can do justice to the incisive eloquence of Sir Rabindranath's denunciation of caste, but the caste system he thinks is an honest attempt to solve the chief problem in India. "Be it said to the credit of India that this diversity was not her own creation ; she has had to accept it as a fact from the beginning of her history. In America and Australia Europe has simplified her problem by almost exterminating the original population. Even in the present age this spirit of extermination is making itself manifest in the inhospitable shutting out of aliens by those who themselves were aliens in the lands they now occupy. But India tolerated differences of races from the first and this spirit of toleration has acted all through her history. "

Wherein has India failed ? She failed to realise that in human beings "differences are not like the physical barriers of mountains fixed for ever—they are fluid with life's flow,

they are changing their courses and their shapes and volume." India recognised differences, "but not the mutability which is the law of life. In trying to avoid collisions she set up boundaries of immoveable walls, thus giving to her numerous races the negative benefit of peace and order but not the positive opportunity of expansion and movement. She accepted nature where it produces diversity, but ignored it where it used that diversity for its world-game of infinite permutations and combinations. She treated life in all truth where it is manifold but insulted it where it was ever moving. Therefore life departed from her social system, and in its place she is worshipping with all ceremony the magnificent cage of countless compartments that she has manufactured."

The West has dealt with the racial problem by ignoring it, and this is the source of anti-Asiatic agitation. "In most of your colonies," he says, "you only admit them (Asiatics) on condition of their accepting the menial position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. Either you shut your doors against the aliens or reduce them into slavery. And this is your solution of the problem of race-conflict. Whatever may be its merits you will have to admit that it does not spring from the higher impulses of civilisation, but from the lower passions of greed and hatred. You say this is human nature—and India also thought she knew human nature when she strongly barricaded her race distinctions by the fixed barriers of social gradations. But we have found out to our cost that human nature is not what it seems but what it is in truth, which is in its infinite possibilities. And when we in our blindness insult humanity or its ragged appearance, it sheds its disguise to disclose to us that we have insulted our God. The degradation which we cast upon others in our pride or self-interest degrades our own humanity and this is the punishment which is most terrible because we do not detect it till it is too late."

Sir Rabindranath protests against the idea frequently held by modern Hindu politicians that Hindu society has come to a final completeness in its social and spiritual ideals and that Hindus are now free to employ all their activities in politics. It is impossible "to build a political miracle of freedom upon the quick-sand of social slavery," or "to dam up the true course of our own historical stream" by borrowing power from the source of other peoples' history. "Those of us in India," he says, "who have come under the delusion that more political freedom will make us free have accepted their lessons from the West as the gospel truth and lost their faith in humanity. We must remember whatever weakness we cherish in our society will become the source of danger in politics. The same inertia which leads us to our idolatry of dead forms in social institutions will create in our politics prison-houses with immovable walls. The narrowness of sympathy which makes it possible for us to impose upon a considerable portion of humanity the galling yoke of inferiority will assert itself in our politics in creating the tyranny of injustice."

Hindu social restrictions are still tyrannical, "so much so as to make men cowards. If a man tells me he has heterodox ideas but that he cannot follow them because he would be socially ostracised I excuse him for having to live a life of untruth in order to live at all. The social habit of mind which impels us to make the life of our fellow beings a burden to them where they differ from us even in such a thing as their choice of food is sure to persist in our political organisation and result in creating engines of coercion to crush every national difference which is the sign of life. And tyranny will only add to the inevitable lies and hypocrisy in our political life."

We have already seen how Sir Herbert Risley feared the tyranny of caste in the party organisation of an Indian democracy. Sir Rabindranath goes still deeper, striking the rock-bottom truth that political life is only a part or

manifestation of moral life. Sir Rabindranath in these words reminds us of the core of all democracy, that it rests on individual minds and that its virtue depends in the virtue of these minds. Personality is of more importance than politics.

Below the denunciations of Western nationalism and Indian nationalists runs the pure current of the worship of humanity. Sir Rabindranath's ideal is a social or moral, not a political ideal. He pleads for a society as an expression of "those spiritual aspirations of man which belong to his higher nature," or, as he says of the Japanese, a "civilisation of *human* relationship." The political relationship is an "eruptive inflammation of aggressiveness." In the West, where the political relationship has reached its acme, the "furies of terror came back to threaten herself and goad her into preparations of more and more frightfulness," and the Western nations are not satisfied till the bloodhounds of Satan bred in Europe are domesticated in other lands and "fed with man's miseries." He seeks a humanity which does not suffer from the "dipsomania of organising power," a freedom greater than political or national freedom, for is "the mere name of freedom so valuable that we should be willing to sacrifice for its sake our moral freedom?"

The idea of the Nation is an anæsthetic under the influence of which the whole world "can carry on its systematic programme of the most virulent self-seeking without being in the least aware of its moral perversion," and "the Nation has thriven long upon mutilated humanity." The Great War has lifted the veil and the West stands face to face with her own creation, and those of no nation can still cherish the hope that, "when power becomes ashamed to occupy its throne and is ready to make way for love, when the morning comes for cleansing the blood-stained steps of the Nation along the highroad of humanity, we shall be called upon to bring our own vessel of sacred

water—the water of worship—to sweeten the history of man into purity, and with its sprinkling make the trampled dust of the centuries blessed with fruitfulness.”

Such is a brief summary of Sir Rabindranath's position. His sympathies are universal. He is moved by the spirit of humanity. He is searching for an ideal which, excluding the ugliness of modern civilisation, will include the highest moral impulses of man. He is, in short, seeking for the perfect moral whole of the world. Such an idea, of course, is not peculiar to India. It occurs in the philosophies of the West in even a far more thoroughgoing form than in India. From the Stoics, and before the Stoics, it has been part of the regular stock-in-trade of Western philosophy. Yet the idea is peculiarly fitted to Hindu thought, which favours the international or universal idea more than the national or particular idea. The very word *Swaraj* (usually translated self-government or political independence) is really a philosophical term implying that high spiritual state in which the individual feels himself at one with the universal. The root *swa*, which means self, applies equally to the individual being or to the universal. In Hindu metaphysics the individual is one with the Universal. So, again, there is the conception of *Narayana* which may apply either to God or man, to Divinity or Humanity, just as in Christianity the conception of Christ is identified with humanity at large. In Hindu thought *Narayana* or the universal exists in every particular, the individual, family, clan, tribe or nation. Isolation is thus in theory impossible for the touch of *Narayana* makes the whole world kin.

For social and political reasons too its appearance in the national literature of India is natural. In the national race India has started late, and to make up the huge handicap may well appear a hopeless task. The handicap is evident chiefly in those Western developments which Sir Rabindranath condemns—political organisation

and industrialism. He, of course, will find a large body of Western thinkers joining hands with him in his denunciation of many national excrescences in the West. The wars, strikes, class discord, secret diplomacy, international deceit, and such like, are by no means beautiful, but no Western thinker hopes that these are the summit of Western civilisation. May not only Sir Rabindranath but all Indian nationalists hope that India may be spared the evils of Western nationalism! But if the Indian nationalist wishes nationalism then he must take it with its bad as well as its good.

Say what we will, if India is to be a nation, she must be able to survive in a system of nations. Till all nations and all individuals are perfectly moralised there is no place in the globe for a people which is content to sit down and contemplate either its past, present, or future glories. The present world is a world of action, it must do *puja* to the great god of Efficiency. This Sir Rabindranath recognises. His *Gitanjali* is inspired with the best religious feelings of Hinduism, but it is far from expressive of listlessness, pessimism or active inaction. In another place (quoted from the *Modern Review*, December 1918) he writes "It won't do for us to cut off all intercourse with the rest of the world or be boycotted by them and sleep away our days after swallowing an extra handful of rice. We can be men only by adopting a policy of mutual give and take with the whole world. The race which will refuse to do so cannot survive in these days. Our food and wealth, religion and activities, knowledge and thought must all be made fit to bring us in touch with the entire globe. That which will merely pass current in our own family or our own village simply will not do. The whole world is knocking at our door crying "I have come." If we do not respond to the call we shall be accursed, none can save us. There is no passage left by which to go back within the ancient parochial bounds,

To reach the moral ideal by a short cut is impossible. Perfection comes through imperfection, as does unity through diversity. A long process of moral apprenticeship is necessary to both India and the West before the national can become the international, the immoral the moral, the ugly the beautiful. Sir Rabindranath's ideal is sublime, indeed, but its existence will not enable India to jump clear of the hurdles in social evolution. India, indeed, is favourably placed. Possessing her own history and culture, she has come in contact with both the good and evil of the West. Nor has the West been less fortunate in her contact with India. But the contact has been but for an hour in the ages of eternity. The way is very long before the East and West can cast off the bad and mingle the good alone.

The British Government in India, again, is to India the hothouse in which the indigenous plants may grow. "What should we do," asked Sir Rabindranath, "if for any reason England was driven away? We should simply be the victims of other nations. The same social weakness would prevail. The thing we in India have to think of is this, to remove those social customs and ideals which have generated a want of self-respect *and a complete dependence on those above us*" (the italics are mine) "a state of affairs which has been brought about entirely by the domination in India of the caste system, and the blind lazy habit of relying upon the authority of traditions that are incongruous anachronisms in the present age."

For good or for bad this same Government is trying to fit India to take her place among the national communities of the world. She is, in a word, trying to make India politically, industrially and educationally efficient and by efficiency in these matters is meant self-completeness. It is no doubt a matter of bitter concern to many Indians that her Government services, her commerce and her industries are largely manned by foreign men and capital. But what do the Commissions on Education, Industries, Public

Services, Decentralisation, mean but that the Government is aiming at efficiency in India in order to make India self-sufficient in the community of nations ?

There is a good deal more behind this necessity of the British *Raj* as caused by caste than meets the eye. It is a necessity arising out of the peculiar character of Hindu thought. Hindu ethical thought teaches the virtue of self-renunciation as the foundation of real happiness. Earthly wealth does not produce happiness, for the things of the earth are unreal, illusory. The good Hindu must disregard the pleasures to be got by wealth ; in fact one of his duties is the giving away of wealth and resting content with the minimum necessities of life. The ideal he seeks after is liberation from the trammels of life. Life is only a preparation for something higher. So too in religion, the ultimate reality can be apprehended only after a long training. Few can grasp the principle of the universe at once ; the mind must grasp it by degrees. Hindu religious consciousness evolves towards the ultimate reality. So too it may be said of society the social structure at any period is merely a stage on the way to the ideal life, the life of complete freedom or self-subjection.

From this point of view caste is a stage in evolution, theoretically justifiable on the ground that the weakness of men makes rigid differences necessary for the realisation of ultimate happiness. The social differences place the Brahman, who has the most perfect insight into things, at the top, and others, whose grasp of final reality is less clear, at the bottom. This caste is made rigid by religion for the sake of the ultimate truths of religion ; therefore the Sudra rests content with his status because his final blessedness or knowledge depends on his status.

Hinduism thus combines with an intense conservatism in practice a complete liberalism of theory. Presumably the liberal theory will be at home with more practice, for that is the tendency of modern Hindu movements. There

is, however, a very strong body of Hindu political thought which has turned this liberalism into intolerance, one might say almost fanaticism.

This tendency owes its origin to what we may call the political Renaissance of Hinduism, its prophets being Dayananda Sarasvati, Ramkrishna and Vivekananda. By elevating Hinduism these preachers either directly or indirectly accused other religions of corresponding unworthiness. The distinguishing mark of Hinduism—spirituality—they saw in a process of disintegration because of what they invariably called the materialism of the West. They summoned Hinduism back to its heritage, cursing the dangerous intruders who were luring the spiritual Hindus away from their temples into the shop and counting house.

To the good Hindu righteous indignation at such a religious and social calamity is perfectly permissible, but it is difficult to understand why spirituality even in the Hindu sense of renunciation of worldly pleasures should be claimed as an exclusive asset of Hinduism. Even the West is spiritual. It has its religion, and its religion teaches the duty of renunciation and of self-abnegation and that this life is only a march on a much longer journey. And, just as do the Brahmans, the religious teachers of the West *do* give up worldly wealth the better to serve their God. Just as do the great majority of Hindus, the great majority of the Christian West seem to place the perverted aim of money-making first, but that they do so is, just as in the case of Hindus, because they have fallen from grace. But even money-making is spiritual, for few in the unspiritual West are graceless enough to make money-making an end in itself. It is a means to higher end.

Every religious system is weak on the practical side. It is given to few to have either the spiritual insight or the self-command that the founders of the great religious systems of the world possessed. It is given to many to know better and do worse, and these many belong to all

religions. True, the materialism of the West is dazzling, ostentatious, glaring. It contrasts strong with the pacific placidity of the Hindu. But it is not the *religion* of the West.

I for one frankly confess that I fail to understand Hindu spirituality when it is iterated in the phrase "spiritual nationality." Wherein does the distinguishing mark of spiritual nationalism lie? All nationality is spiritual; to that extent I can comprehend. But wherein does the differentia lie in the spirituality of Hindu nationality? I can quite appreciate the spirituality of Hindu life, but even then spirituality is frequently used when ritualism or ceremonialism would be more applicable. The Hindu is intensely ritualistic: every act of his life is religious in the sense that it has some sanction from the laws of the whole Hindu system, a system which is both religious and social. I can appreciate, too, the beauties of the Hindu family system where the self-renunciation which is the characteristic of Hindu spiritualism is often beautifully manifested. I can—and every one in India whose home is as many thousands of miles away as mine—sympathise with the anger of the good Hindu when he sees the forces of competition breaking up the dearest unity of his life—his family. But the forces that drive the Briton to foreign lands are not altogether material. True, he may go to make living, but he also goes to live a life. The very circumstances of his exile may so deepen his spirituality that he may often seem to harden his heart.

Let us come to closer grips with spiritual nationality. If spirituality to the Hindu means other-worldliness or renunciation of the pleasures of life, then a nationality which is spiritual must be one the distinguishing feature of which is indifference to the material goods of this life. Its differentia must be other-worldliness. What does this imply? It implies either that the component elements of the nationality, *i.e.*, individuals, do not place the same stress as do Western individuals on industrial and commercial life,

or that the individuals in the nationality are, as compared with those of other nationalities or nations, more given to the spiritual or religious life as distinct from the material life. Both these implications have important practical bearings.

For, in the first place, if India is to exist among a scheme of nations then she must compete with other nations. In Rome you must do as the Romans do. If commercialism or industrialism are the props which support or the lures which attract nations, whether of the East or West, etc., etc., then India must prepare herself for self-support, she must prepare her own props, or she must be a lure. Commercialism means wealth, wealth means power in ships and arms, and India without wealth could do nothing but allow the newcomer to walk over her spiritual, but prostrate, body. Well then may Hindu nationalists pray for nationalism within the British Empire, for only with its power to protect can develop that peculiarity of Hinduism, spirituality. It may be deplorable. But it is true.

Or spiritual nationalism may mean a political organisation where the life of contemplation is possible. Is not this a dangerous approximation to the philosopher-kings of Greek thought? And the parallel is closer, for does not the traditional function of the Sudras make them strongly like the φύσει δοῦλοι? But the Greek city-state has gone and, despite Rousseau, no one pretends that it can survive in the modern scheme of things. That it cannot survive may, of course, be a justification of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's hatred of the present political systems of the West. Even in the West it might, under new conditions, be able to survive, and these conditions may be brought about by a League of Nations. But it is inconceivable that any national spirituality should rest on a basis of φύσει δοῦλοι, and Sir Rabindranath himself is a strong advocate of social justice in the matter of caste.

For a full examination of Sir Rabindranath's attitude we must go deeper. What does the political relationship he

hates so bitterly really mean? The political relationship is a type of social relationship. Both are moral relationships. Man expresses himself in various ways, in the family, the church, the trade-union, or in the state. The supreme form of union is the state or political union. It is the condition of the free enjoyment of other forms of union. But the state is not an end in itself. It subserves a moral end, the full and free development of mankind in a social whole. Far from being immoral it is a fundamental moral necessity, resting on the minds of moral units or individuals. Political union in itself is not wrong, but the minds on which it is based may not be perfectly moralised. It is not because of political union that men are greedy or murderous or cruel; it is because men are not good. The fact of association in a particular way indeed may rouse passions among men which otherwise might remain dormant, but that is the fault of men, not of association. War, the worst result of nationalism, may be immoral but war is the result of evil minds, and it may even be a moral necessity, as in the Great European War, for apart from war, the world was in danger of being engulfed by a vicious ideal. Nevertheless, the blame of the war is traceable not to the state as such but to a particular type of mind which forced war.

Were men sufficiently enlightened morally not to need organisation, war would not happen. But they are not. Men must live in states and be organised in some way and not till everyone is perfect will the ill-feeling and bad results that come from organisation die away. At our present stage of moral attainment the state and government are essential, and our duty as good citizens of a state and good members of the human race is to perfect ourselves and others in order that with us the state may be perfect.

And what do industrialism and commercialism imply? They too are expressions of the nature of man. With the growing complexity of society there are the growing needs of men. These needs vary from age to age and from

country to country. Industries and commerce do not rise up out of nothing. They arise to meet man's needs. As human needs grow and become more diversified so do industries. The desires of man are not all good and the industries to supply bad desires may not be good. But they *are*. If they are bad, there are bad men who require bad things; and it behoves us to teach them better things. Armament firms, for example, arise to enable men to deprive each other of the fundamental right of man, the right of life. Where men are perfectly moralised there will be no need for armament firms. But as long as I cannot trust my neighbour to respect my right to life and property, I shall keep instruments of destruction. I have not the slightest intention of killing my neighbour or of burgling his house; therefore he is to blame because I by my custom encourage other men to make guns and cartridges. But if my neighbour is as good as I am the armament firm will fail as far as we are concerned.

• The making of money, again, is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. Wealth in general is necessary to ethical development in a society. The Greek citizens were able to live lives of contemplation because their manual work was done by slaves. The Greek citizens, indeed, could grow in grace, but what of the slaves? They were instruments, or rather animals. They served their masters as do horses or bullocks. Their moral development did not count.

• But slavery is gone never to return. Equal chances of development are given to all normal individuals and one form of the development is money-making. It is simply a medium of self-expression. To divorce spirituality from money-making therefore is little better than to divorce spirituality from religion. The latter may be on a higher plane than the former but they are aspects of one thing and certainly not mutually exclusive. Money-making, the Western materialism, gross in some respects though it be, is part of the spiritual process on the way to the ethical ideal.

I have tried to show that in Hinduism there is no reason why nationality should not develop. I have also shown that one aspect of Hindu thought is more international than national. If internationalism is an index of spirituality then the West possesses more signs of internationalism than Hinduism, for while Hinduism theoretically admits the international ideal, it has not yet reached the national. The West is showing very considerable signs of passing from nationalism to internationalism. A large section of modern socialists are as hostile to nationalism as wither Roman Catholics and Hindus. These socialists too have made considerable headway in international organisation. And before our eyes to-day we see the slow but sure outcome of the many socialising forces of the last century—forces of commerce, trade-unions, universities, "high society," of thought in the proposed League of Nations. True, it has come through the most devastating war in history, but even the ugliness of war may eventually be justified by the beauties of perpetual peace.

I cannot here prolong the debate between nationalism and internationalism or continue to demonstrate the meaning of political organisation among mankind. I must return to my main thesis—Hindu nationalism. The value of Sir Rabindranath's doctrine is that it recognises the fundamental truth that in Hinduism the solution of the national problem depends on the prior solution of a social problem. I have tried to show that the social problem is in the process of solution and that this process is consistent with the development of real nationality. The exact relation of Hindu, or the wider Indian, nationality to the future unity of humanity is another problem. The present problem, whether it be for the good or bad of either India or humanity, is national. Every indication that we have at present of the inwardness of Indian nationality points to the future indebtedness of humanity to a culture capable of real contributions to the culture-force of the world; but the exact direction

those contributions and the exact niche they will fill in the temple of humanity is for the future to decide.

Let me now, slim up. Caste the crucial test of Hindu society is, with its conservatism, its endogamy, and its exclusiveness, a formidable barrier to Hindu and Indian solidarity. It is as Risley calls it, a "congenital instinct an all-pervading principle of attraction and repulsion, entering into and shaping every relation to life." It has persisted so long that it may appear eternal. The Abbé Dubois, indeed (in his *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*) was so impressed by the unchanging nature of caste that he concluded that the Hindus must be the oldest people in the world. It has resisted change. Dynasties have come and gone but Hinduism has survived. Even the antagonistic Abbé was constrained to admire its persistence for "these same Hindus," as he says, "who did not dare to complain when they saw their wives, their children, and every thing they held most dear carried off by these fierce conquerors (the Mahomedans), their country devastated by fire and sword, their temples destroyed, their idols demolished, these same Hindus, I say, only displayed some sparks of energy when it became a question of changing their customs for those of their oppressors. Ten centuries of Mahomedan rule, during which time the conquerors tried alternately cajolery and violence, in order to establish their own faith and their own customs amongst the conquered, have not sufficed to shake the stedfast constancy of the native inhabitants."

That the "stedfast constancy" has been affected since the Abbé's days is obvious to-day, but caste is still the "king of men." That its anti-national elements are everlasting, however, is more than either facts or tendencies prove. In its inflexibility there is flexibility: in its iron discipline there is adaptability. Its exclusiveness is not absolute, and the theory of its existence is not too conservative to admit change. Affected by the contiguity of other peoples and cultures it

has already somewhat softened its rigour. To what extent the volcanic power of universal education, industrialism, and political organisation will further test its adaptability remains yet to be seen. All indications that we now possess show that caste can accommodate itself to both new ideas and new institutions. With more enlightenment its rough corners will disappear. If the effect of education on the masses is what it has been on the classes, we may conclude that caste and the new forms of Government are not mutually exclusive. The new political forms indeed may be affected by characteristic Hindu ideas, but the trunk of nationality will prove stronger than the creeper of caste.

It is impossible to say what elements may go first. Endogamy, which Risley and others regard as so inimical to national unity, is already in danger, but I can conceive of political unity even without the removal of endogamy. Inter-marriage doubtless would fuse blood, but the fusion of blood will not in itself lead to the fusion of ideas. Nationality is a sentiment: it is spiritual, not physical. The removal of endogamy would subserve national unity only in so far as it would lead to spiritual or sentimental union. What is necessary for national fusion is the removal of the bars which make the lower classes taboo to the higher classes. The right of inter-marriage could not do this. "Marrying up" or "marrying down" is as ingrained in democratic England as in aristocratic India. What will remove the bar is a conception of a common good for India based not on the good of a class or caste, but on the good of all; and it is exactly in this channel that the strongest social movements of Hinduism are running. Enlightened Hindus recognise the injustice and unreasonableness of the existing social chasms. They see the ridiculous nature of the scriptural or quasi-scriptural injunctions of pollution, and are striving to give their more unfortunate fellow-beings a human status such as they themselves possess.

Then, again, there is the need for co-operation and mutual help, a lesson gradually being learnt. It would be ridiculous to expect new ideas of communal service to develop all at once. Citizenship in Hindu India has up to now been the citizenship of the family and caste. Patriotism has been loyalty to a group or sect. With a widening horizon the Hindu is gradually appreciating the existence of a new type of citizenship, a citizenship which does not conflict with the intenser feelings of family or caste. This new citizenship only alters the old perspective : it does not abolish it. It gives new relationships in life and a new meaning to the community. It alters the meaning of rights and duties alike, but does not supersede what the traditions of the Hindu tell him to love and respect.

The substitution of new forms of government, again, particularly in local self-government will gradually raise the self-respect of the individual Hindu. It must not be expected that new forms of government will at once make him a good citizen. The process will be gradual and must be accompanied by an education which will enable the ignorant to understand the primary relations of things. Nor will his intenser patriotism to the family yield quickly to the vaguer interest of the district, province, or Empire. To him as to everyone else the intensity of his interest in the community will vary in inverse ratio to the extension of the area. Gradually, however, with new institutions he will appreciate the new basis of rights. Democratic institutions will bring democratic ideas. Even now equality before the law is appreciated by the unlettered ryot. When he has a vote and can use that vote without fear of consequences he will still further feel himself to be a man with a stake in an interest which is beyond his family and caste.

But democracy must not kill caste. Caste is necessary as the basis of Hindu society. To abolish it without replacing it would be to superimpose Bolshevism on autocracy.

It would mean ruin to Hindu society. Even when it is replaced, caste will not be killed. Only these essentials must go which stand in the way of greater development. Its institutions will survive, for no institution so deeply ingrained can be killed in a day. Were it for nothing else than its picturesque historicity caste should survive. Its survivals will likely tend to be those general class distinctions universal in human society, but at the same time there will be a large mass of concomitant variations peculiar to the habits and thought of Hinduism.

A new system of common rights, the appreciation of new ethical ends, a new citizenship based on the common welfare distinct from family welfare, the good of all in front of the good of the individual—these are the bases on which the new Hindu nationalism will build.

One word more. In the development of Hindu nationality other elements must enter. The great mass of influences from the West, the co-existing culture of Mahomedanism and of other religions—these must fuse with Hinduism before Hindu nationality can become Indian nationality. It is less than of no avail—it is positively harmful—to hark back to what may be a fundamental unity of India in the past and to decry the facts of the present. What is necessary is balance. Extremism, resulting in wholesale condemnation of everything non-Hindu, will only raise to antagonism what otherwise may lie dormant. Here again the path of salvation lies in forgetting differences and concentrating on unity, in leaving the religious life to its own and not mixing it up with the political. The balance too of the moderating, non-religious, casteless power of the British Government is necessary till the realisation of complete responsibility is made possible by the new basis of rights. Equable development will extract the best from all the cultures of India and let them be added to the world's store of good.

R. N. GILCHRIST.

THE INDIAN ALPHABET.

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ALL the earliest inscriptions found in this country have been engraved in two different scripts or *lipis*, one called Brāhmī which was written from left to right as in all Hindu scripts of the modern day and the other called Kharoshthī which was written from right to left as in Persian or Arabic. The latter flourished in the north-west part of India only, whereas the former was in vogue all over India, including the small region where the Kharoshthī was written. Again, the Kharoshthī died a natural death before the fourth century A. D., whereas the Brāhmī has been recognised to be the parent of all the scripts indigenous not only to India but also Ceylon, Burma and Tibet. The foreign origin of the former has never been called in question, but the same has not yet been definitively established of the latter. Besides, the Brāhmī is admitted to have been framed by phonologists for writing Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages. The Brāhmī has thus been rightly looked upon as the real ancient alphabet of India. When therefore the origin of the Indian alphabet is the subject of discussion, the origin of the Brāhmī alone is understood.

Before we are able to properly discuss the origin of writing in India, it is necessary to know to what earliest period it is traceable in India. Great injustice to this subject had been done by the rather sweeping remarks made by Max Müller, who, though he had great and genuine admiration for the Vedic literature, had little for any of the post-Vedic period. "If writing had been known to Pānini," says he, "some of his grammatical

terms would surely point to the graphical appearance of words. I maintain that there is not a single word in Pānini's terminology which presupposes the existence of writing." How bold and sweeping this assertion when a Sūtra of Pānini actually contains the words *lipikara* or *libikara* in the sense of "a scribe" and when Pānini makes mention of *Yavanani* which, according to Kātyāyana and Patanjali, means the "writing of the Yavanas." Once, however, the assertion was made, the mischief was done, and whatever protests were afterwards raised by Goldstucker were of no avail, able though they were. And if according to Max Müller "Pānini lived in the middle of the fourth century B. C.," the opinion was almost universally held that writing was unknown to the Indians prior to 350 B. C.

It was not, however, till four decades of year had elapsed that the tide turned and European scholars began to view this subject with a somewhat clearer vision. The credit for taking a more sober view is, in the first instance, due to George Bühler and secondly to Professor Rhys Davids who soon followed him in the discussion of this subject. Both the scholars freely drew upon the Pali Canon of the Southern Buddhists and principally upon the Jātakas. It is no use reiterating here the various passages which they have collected from the Buddhist literature. It is sufficient for my purpose if I state here their conclusions in the following words of Professor Rhys Davids. "It is evident, therefore, that writing was in vogue at the time these passages were composed, that it was made use of for the publication of official notices, and for the communication by way of letter between private individuals : that the ability to write was a possible and honorable source of livelihood : that the knowledge of writing was not confined to any particular class, but was acquired by ordinary folk, and by women : and that it was sufficiently prevalent to have been made the basis of a game for children. A long period, probably centuries,

must have elapsed between the date when writing first became known to the few, and the date when such a stage could have been reached." According to Bühler the testimony of the Pali Canon points to the common use of writing in India during the fifth or perhaps the sixth century B. C. The introduction of writing must therefore be placed in the seventh century B. C. Thus from the fourth century B. C. the European scholars have pushed it back to the seventh century and have thus made a concession of three centuries in favour of the antiquity of writing in India.

Let us, however, see whether we have to stop at this limit and cannot push it still further backwards. It is no use taking our stand on the post-Vedic literature because there is hardly any work of this literature which has not been suspected to contain interpolations. If we want to find out whether the art of writing was known to India prior even to the seventh century B. C., we must turn our attention to the literature of the Vedic period alone and try to find out whether there are any references here, not to Grammar, Prosody or Lexicography, but rather to matters connected directly or indirectly with writing itself. I will place here a few of such references that I have been able to pick up for the consideration of the scholars interested in this subject, and also with a view to stimulate them to this line of inquiry. Two of the principal features of writing are : (1) numerical notation and (2) alphabet. Let us now see in the first place whether we have any evidence for saying that the Aryans of Vedic India were acquainted with numerical symbols. In the Rigveda we have a hymn which speaks of *ashta-karni* cows. What could be the meaning of the word *ashta-karna* here? Those who have studied Pāṇini will be reminded of one of his Sūtras in this connection, *viz.*, VI. 3, 115. The Sūtra teaches us that before the word *karna* (ear) the ending vowel of the preceding word is lengthened, when the compound word denotes a proprietorship

mark on the ears of cattle. Thus we obtain the word *dātrā-karna*, i.e., an animal on whose ear the mark of a *dātrā* or sickle has been made by its owner. There are, however, some exceptions, and Pānini therefore tells us that this lengthening of the vowel does not take place in the case of the words *vishta*, *ashta*, *pancha* and so forth. This gives us the word *ashta-karna* and not *ashtā-karna*. Unfortunately for us Patanjali does not offer any comment on this Sūtra, and Kāśikākāra is, therefore, the earliest grammarian who explains it. He no doubt takes the words *ashta* and *pancha* in the Sūtra *ashtan* and *panchan*, signifying the numbers "eight" and "five." And if this interpretation is followed, the word *ashta-karna* will mean "having the symbol (the numeral) 8 marked on the ear," and we can definitely assert that in the time of the Rigveda the Aryans were familiar with the signs for numbers, and that they put them on the ears of their cattle to serve as ownership marks. The interpretation of the *Kāśikā* does not however seem to be correct. The verb *aksh* in the sense "to mark" has been traced in the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā in a passage where cattle with ears differently marked are referred to. The past particle of *aksh* is both *akshita* and *ashta*, and it is simpler to take *ashta-karna* to mean "with marked-ears." The word *pancha* of the Sūtra, for the same reason, had better be taken to stand not for *panchan*, "five," but for *pancha* "spread out." The word *ashta-karna* occurring in the Rigveda cannot thus be taken as evidence in support of the symbols for numerals being used by the Aryans. But though this evidence has no weight, the inference that the numerical notation must have been known to them can be proved in a different manner. If it can be shown beyond all doubt that the Aryan knowledge of numeration was of a very much advanced character in the Vedic period, it is impossible to deny them the knowledge of the representation of numbers. Thus the name *ayuta*, 10,000 is to be found in the Rigveda, and one Rik speaks of a still higher number, viz., 100,000

(*sata-sahasra* in RV. IV. 32-18 and VIII. 32-18). It is, however, in the Yajurveda which is chronologically not far separated from the Rigveda that we find a long list of names for very high numerals. The Vājasaneyi Samhitā has a hymn which may be thus translated:—"May these, (sacrificial) bricks procure me in this and the next world cows numbering 1 ; 10 ; 100 ; 1,000 ; 10,000 (*ayuta*) ; 100,000 (*niyuta*) ; 1,000,000 (*prayuta*) ; 10,000,000 (*arbuda*) ; 100,000,000 (*nyarbuda*) ; 1,000,000,000 (*samudra*) ; 10,000,000,000 (*madhya*) ; 100,000,000,000 (*anta*) ; 1,000,000,000,000 (*parardha*)."

The highest number here specified is *parardha*, which is equivalent to a billion, *i.e.*, one million of millions. The Taittirīya Samhitā in two places gives an exactly identical list with that quoted above. The list in the Kāthaka Samhitā is the same except for a few slight differences, *viz.*, *niyuta* is called *prayuta*, and *prayuta*, *niyuta* ; and a new figure called *badya* is inserted after *nyarbuda* thus increasing ten-fold the subsequent figures and making *parardha* equal to, not one billion, but ten billions. It appears that different systems of numeration had already sprung up in the time of the Yajurveda, and continued to multiply in the Brāhmana period. In the same period, again, we find the knowledge of the Aryans greatly developed in the sphere of arithmetic. Thus the Panchavimsa Brāhmana sets forth a long list of sacrificial gifts in gold in which each second figure is double of the first. It commences with the figure 12 and then by this increasing geometrical progression reaches up to 393,216. We also have an instance of progression of the opposite kind, where each successive figure is 1/15th of the preceding one. The Sata-patha Brāhmana, *e.g.*, divides a day into 15 *muhūrtas*, each *muhūrta* into 15 *kshipras*, each *kshipra* into 15 *etarhis*, each *etarhi* into 15 *idānis*, each *idāni* into *pranas*. The day is thus divided into 759,375 parts. But the knowledge of the fractions was known to the Aryans even in the Rigvedic period. We have *ardha*= $\frac{1}{2}$, *pada*= $\frac{1}{4}$, *tripād*= $\frac{3}{4}$, *sapha*= $\frac{1}{8}$ and

kalā=1/16. Similarly in Rigveda Vi. 69. 8 Indra and Vishnu are said with joint efforts to have divided 1,000 into three parts, which is considered to be a great feat. When the mass of evidence is so overwhelmingly great and varied, is it possible to doubt that the Aryans had made great strides in the domain of arithmetic even very early in the Vedic period or to imagine that they could deal with such high numbers as billions or tens of billions and could penetrate into the intricacies of fractions without developing any system or numerical notation? Even when the Greeks were acquainted with the art of writing, the highest number that they knew was 10,000. The case was worse with the Romans, who could not go beyond 1,000. No reasonable doubt can possibly be therefore entertained as to the Aryans having developed symbols for the various numerals. The same conclusion holds good in the case of the alphabet also. One of the arguments brought forward by Bühler in favour of the antiquity of writing referred to in the Pali Canon is the kind of the words employed to signify "to write," "writing," "writer" or "a letter or syllable." Thus the word employed to denote "writing" or "writer" is not *lipi* or *lipikara*, but *lekha* or *lekhaka* which means "scratching" or "scratcher." If a letter is thus scratched or engraved, it naturally acquires permanence. And quite in keeping with this notion we find that the word for a letter or syllable is *akshara*, i.e., "the indelible," and that the phrase not unfrequently used in this connection is *aksharani chhind*, i.e., "cut the indelible ones." Bühler is here inclined to regard the word *lipi* as of late origin and those who have read his works on Indian Palæography need not be told that in his opinion the Sanskrit *lipi* is derived from the Old Persian *dipi* and that in support of his position he says that in the Gandhara dialect of Asoka's inscriptions as represented by the Shahbazgarhi and Mansahara edicts *lipi* is represented by *dipi* and the

verbs *dipati* "he writes" and *dipapati* "he causes to write" are also met with. But this view can never become acceptable so long as he or any adherent of his theory has not explained how on philological grounds the Persian word *dipi* can become *lipi*. And what little ostensible support there was to Bühler's view has recently been sapped away by Professor Hultsch, who, on the strength of good reliable impressions of the Gandhara edicts, has clearly shown that the words really occurring in them are not *dipi*, but *nipi*, and its derivatives. Bühler's theory that the Sanskrit *lipi* is a loan word, therefore, falls to the ground. But though it is impossible to uphold this theory of his, Bühler seems to be perfectly right in suggesting that all terminology relating to writing is connected with "scratching" or "engraving" with which this art was originally associated and that the word for "letter" or "syllable" is *akshara*, because, being scratched or engraved it becomes indelible. It is, however, a matter of deep regret that Bühler stopped at this stage and did not proceed farther to find out whether the word *akshara* in this sense is traceable in the literature of any period anterior to the Pali Canon. Especially he should have found out whether this word occurred anywhere in the Vedic literature, which alone, as I have already told you, can be positively affirmed to be of an earlier age than the Pali Canon. It is scarcely necessary to tell a student of the Vedic literature that the word *akshara* in the sense of "a letter or syllable" is to be found not only in the Brihadāranyaka or the Chhāndogya Upanishad but also in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, not only in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa but also in the Atharvaveda, and not only in the Atharvaveda but also in the Rigveda. It will be too irksome to quote passages from these works, but this much is certain that the word *akshara* in the sense of "a letter or syllable" is to be met with in the works of the Vedic literature in all its stages of development. And we have seen that Bühler is correct in

implying that a letter or syllable was so called because it was originally cut, scratched or engraved and was thus rendered *akshara* or indelible. Have we not therefore evidence that even in the time of the Rigveda the Aryans were acquainted not only with the system of numerical notation but also with the art of writing or rather scratching letters? If we thus consider the matter impartially and dispassionately, we cannot help saying that the art of writing was known to India not merely in the sixth century B. C. as is at present asserted on the strength of the Pali Canon but long before this period, *i.e.*, at least as early as 1200 B. C., the latest date assigned to the Rigveda. This conclusion is not an over-estimate but rather an under-estimate, and evidence of an overwhelming character is now accessible which clearly shows that even in India alphabetic writing is not of historic or proto-historic but of pre-historic origin. This evidence however I will set forth in connection with the origin of writing in India to which subject I now proceed.

Numerous and diverse are the views propounded of the origin of the Indian alphabet. They may, however, be reduced to three main theories. The first is that originally suggested by Prinsep who first unravelled the enigma of the Brāhmī *lipi*. He was inclined to ascribe the alphabet of Asoka inscriptions to the Greek source. In this view he was followed by Otfried Müller and some time after even by Senart. There can be no doubt that there is a great resemblance between the Greek and the earliest Brāhmī characters. But it is beset by insuperable difficulties based chiefly on ground of chronology. Nobody now believes that the Brāhmī *lipi* originated in the Asoka period. This view consequently has long since been rejected. The second theory we have to consider is that which regards the Indian alphabet as having an indigenous origin. It was first suggested by Lassen and afterwards countenanced by Edward Thomas who thought

it to be an invention of the Dravidian races of Southern India. This theory in somewhat recent times found an able supporter in Sir Alexander Cunningham who made a regular attempt to derive it from a primitive Indian picture-writing.' Cunningham was followed by Dowson who maintained more emphatically that the Indian alphabet was an independent invention. The third theory is that of Semitic origin. It is upheld by a good many palæographers and is now in the ascendant. It was originally put forward as early as 1806 by Sir William Jones. Of the advocates of this theory two main classes are at present recognised. The foremost of one class are Deecke and Isaac Taylor who hold that the Indian alphabet is derived from that of the Southern Semites in South Arabia, and, of the other are Weber and Bühler who maintain that it is derived directly from that of the Northern Semites, the earliest Phœnician alphabet known to us from the long epigraphic document of Mesha, King of Moab, the oldest Sinjirli inscription and certain characters engraved on the Assyrian Weights, which all have been supposed to be of about B. C. 850. The adherents of the latter view are now so numerous that it has become the accepted doctrine of all experts in Indian palæography. This theory of the Phœnician origin of the Indian alphabet was no doubt first propounded by Weber, but the credit of establishing it on a firmer basis certainly goes to Bühler. It was he who brought all his scholarship and his expert knowledge in Indian epigraphy to bear upon the subject and has done real service to the cause of palæography in establishing certain conclusions which are unassailable. One of the strongest arguments urged by Cunningham and Thomas in rejecting a Semitic origin for the old alphabet of India is the difference in the direction of the writing. All the epigraphic records of ancient India run from left to right, whereas those of the Semitic races from right to left. Unless, therefore, it was proved that the Indians wrote

from right to left it was impossible to adhere to any theory of Semitic origin.

In other words, before any scholar can hope to propound the theory that the Brāhmī is derived from a Semitic alphabet, he has to prove in the first place that *Brāhmī was at any time written from right to left like all Semitic scripts and not from left to right as is generally known to us*,—a point on which Cunningham and Thomas laid so much stress. And it must now be acknowledged that the adherents of the theory of the Semitic origin have now clearly demonstrated that even the Brāhmī *lipi* was originally written from right to left. Thus Bühler has drawn our attention to the fact that the legend on a coin originally found by Cunningham at Eran, but now deposited in the British Museum consists of letters which not only have to be read from right to left but are also each reversed. He has further shown that even in Asoka's edicts single letters such as *dh*, *t* and *o* are sometimes found reversed, no doubt a reminiscence of the writing from right to left. Further, such reminiscences have been pointed out by Mr. Wickreminasinghe, the learned Editor of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. The students of Asoka's inscriptions are aware of the rather peculiar way in which the conjunct consonants are engraved. Conjunct consonants, it need scarcely be stated, must be so written as to follow the order in the pronunciation of its sounds. And when a script is written from left to right as we do at present, the letter *t* must come above *p* in the conjunct consonant *tpa*, *s* above *t* in *sta*, *v* above *y* in *vya*. But what do we find in Asoka's edicts? As a rule the letter that is pronounced first is placed below and not above the second letter. Such a reversal of the process is possible only in the mode of writing from right to left. The compound-letters of his inscriptions clearly show that the writing of Asoka's period was still to a large extent influenced by the old long-settled system of reading from right to left.

But Asoka's inscriptions are not the only instances of this kind. Mr. Wickramesinghe has informed us that in Ceylon have been discovered scores of inscriptions whose characters are in several instances cut reversedly or which have actually to be read from right to left. The important fact to note here is that this anomaly is to be met with *only in the most ancient inscriptions, i.e., in the Southern Asoka character* and that there is not a single epigraph of a later date, in Ceylon as in India, which reads from right to left or in which individual letters are reversely engraved. The evidence thus set forth is strong enough to show that long long anterior to Asoka the Brāhmī letters were written from right to left and in a reversed form but that shortly before his time people had commenced writing from left to right with the result that even in his time writing from right to left had not become completely extinct and that even in writings from left to right the reversed forms of single letters occasionally lingered both in India and Ceylon. An exactly analogous case has been furnished by the earliest Greek alphabet called the Cadmean alphabet. From the Island of Thera, now called Santorin, have been obtained upwards of twenty inscriptions extending over two or three centuries. The latest have been written from left to right in a Greek alphabet approaching to the Abu Simel type, but the earliest are engraved from right to left and in reversed Greek characters thus resembling letters of Phœnician style. What thus happened in the case of the Greek alphabet must doubtless have happened in the case of the Brāhmī *lipi* also. Thus the argument that the ancient alphabet of India always ran from left to right which was urged by Cunningham and Thomas against its foreign origin was completely demolished by the evidence adduced by Bühler and Mr. Wickramesinghe. There, however, remained the third vehement advocate of the theory of indigenous origin, *viz.*, Dowson, who boldly challenged his adversaries "to

show whence it came" if the Indian alphabet was a foreign importation, no sufficient resemblance between the Brāhmī character and any class of Semitic alphabet being till then established. Then came Isaac Taylor who first made a systematic attempt at showing a close correspondence between the Brāhmī and the Sabeian alphabet of Arabia Felix. And he was soon followed by Bühler who showed the still closer correspondence of the Brāhmī with the alphabet of the Northern Semites thus demonstrating as he thought the correctness of the hypothesis which Weber originally put forth but could not prove owing to the lack of materials when he wrote. Bühler went further and showed that the theory of a South-semitic origin of the Brāhmī alphabet was untenable because the resemblance of character between the two pointed out by its advocates was often fanciful and assumed most extraordinary changes in the phonetic value of the signs, especially when Hindus have always been very particular, nay pedantic in matters connected with phonetics. On the other hand, Bühler's theory was not free from an element of doubt, to which Professor Rhys Davids was the first to draw our attention. recent intercourse between India and South Arabia along the coast was at least possible, though not probable in the Sixth or Seventh century B. C. So that it is at least possible on this ground, to trace the source of the Brāhmī *lipi* to South Arabia though on other grounds it is untenable, as Bühler has shown. "But no one has yet contended that the Indians had any direct communication with the men who, on the borders of Palestine, inscribed the Mesa stone, where the resemblance is greater." Professor Rhys Davids is, therefore, compelled to put forth the hypothesis that "the Indian letters were derived, neither from the alphabet of the Northern, nor from that of the Southern Semites, but from that source from which these, in their turn, had been derived—from the pre-Semitic form of writing used in the Euphrates Valley." Unfortunately, Prof. Rhys Davids

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has not shown what this "pre-Semitic form of writing used in the Euphrates Valley" is, whether there is any convincingly sufficient resemblance between it and the Brāhmī *lipi* and at what period approximately it was transplanted into India. Unless some light is thrown on these points, his theory about the pre-Semitic form of writing is wholly conjectural, being unsupported by any known facts. It is this conjectural nature of his theory that, I am afraid, has prevented scholars from perceiving the flaw in Bühler's theory which Prof. Rhys Davids has correctly pointed out. Unless it is clearly shown that India had direct intercourse with the borders of Palestine in the 7th or 8th century B. C., what is the good of saying that the Brāhmī *lipi* is derived from the alphabet that was prevalent in that part of the world and at that period, as Bühler has no doubt done? Nevertheless, scholars have not taken cognisance of this glaring flaw so ably perceived by Prof. Rhys Davids, and have rather precipitately fallen in entirely with the views of Bühler. The triumph for the Semitic theory was thus complete, apparently at any rate and continued to be so until three years ago when the pre-historic cairns in the Nizam's Dominions were excavated in Raigir in the Nalgonda District. On cleaning the pottery dug out here, Mr. G. Yazdani, Superintendent of Archæology, noticed peculiar marks on them, which in some cases were so faint that they would have escaped his notice, being mistaken for ordinary scratches but for the identity of one of them with a character of the Brāhmī script which was fresh in his mind as he had then only recently finished his eye copies of the newly discovered Asokan edict of Maski. The identity impressed him and as he continued to wash and examine the pots, he found that every one of them was similarly marked. Similar marks had been noticed by the late Mr. Bruce Foote on the pre-historic pottery exhibited in the Madras Museum. Mr. Yazdani naturally visited

this Museum and personally and carefully examined all the pots and potsherds collected here from the fourteen districts of the Madras Presidency and the various sites of the Mysore and Travancore States. No less than one hundred and thirty-one different marks was he able to notice, of which he prepared a diagram accompanied by a brief description of each pot. But this number he rightly regards as by no means final, as pottery from every fresh site may add to it and, as a matter of fact, has since then added to it. Let me state here in passing that the pre-historic pottery dug out in the Hyderabad cairns is associated with Megalithic structures which cannot be later than 1500 B. C., and that some of the pottery exhibited in the Madras Museum belongs to the Neolithic Age, which cannot be posterior to 3000 B. C. What is, however, most noteworthy in this connection is that at least five of these marks are identical with the letters of the earliest Brāhmī alphabet. Is it not possible that script was after all derived not from any foreign but an Indian alphabet though of the pre-historic period? Fortunately for us this phenomenon is confined not to India only but is noticeable also in Europe. A large number of pebbles were discovered by M. Ed. Piette at Mas d'Azil, on the left bank of the Arize in France belonging to a stratum between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic Age. On some of these pebbles symbols resembling the capital letters of the alphabet have been found painted. Piette himself is inclined to see in these symbols the forerunners of the later syllabaries and alphabets of the East, nine of them agreeing with forms of the Cypriot syllabary and eleven with those of the Phœnician alphabet. It is, therefore, perfectly reasonable to see in the symbols on the pre-historic pottery of India, the forerunners of the characters constituting the Brāhmī lipi. If we now carefully examine the diagram of symbols prepared by Mr. Yazdani, it must be admitted that some of them do look like pictograph or ideograms. But it cannot be

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denied that a fairly large number of these signs look like letters of an alphabet. Five of them, as has just been stated, are certainly identical with the characters of the earliest type of the Brāhmī *lipi*. No doubt, this number is very small, but this is just what might be expected. For how is it possible to expect a larger number of identical letters in alphabets which were separated by millenniums? Nor is it reasonable to doubt the identity of these letters precisely on the same ground, *i.e.*, just because these alphabets were divided by millenniums. For we know that some of the pre-historic symbols found in Egypt and referred to a period anterior to 5000 B. C. have been found to be identical with some of the alphabetic signs of the Phœnicians, *e.g.*, which have been assigned to Circa 900 B. C.—showing thus an interval of four millenniums. Coming to this country do we not find that the letter *g*, *e.g.*, of the inscription on the relic-casket of the Piprāhwa *Stūpa* which may be ascribed to about 500 B. C. has survived in that exact form to this day in the modern Kanarese script? Another reason why we have to consider some of these symbols to have an alphabetic value is that there seem to be signs even for expressing medial vowels, such as we see in Asoka's time, *e.g.*, thus No. 3 in Mr. Yazdani's diagram seems to me clearly to be *go*, *i.e.*, *g*, with the medial vowel *o*. And No. 13 is almost certainly *to*, the only difference being that the stroke indicating *o-kāra* is here attached not to the top but to the middle. An *i-kāra* also appears to have been expressed as in No. 10, *e.g.*, not, however, in the Brāhmī but in the Kharoshthī fashion. Again, it is worthy of note that the diagram shows instances of reversed letters. Thus Nos. 4 and 5, 14 and 15, and 18 and 19, *e.g.*, give symbols which are reversed or inverted forms of each other. These considerations are distinctly in favour of regarding some of the signs at any rate in the diagram as being alphabetic letters. The only argument

that might be urged against this view is that there can be no earthly reason why single letters were scratched on these pots if we look upon these marks as alphabetic letters at all and that the only theory that appears plausible is that they are ownership marks. I am afraid I cannot agree in this theory. Because many of the signs in the diagrams are identical with the signs found elsewhere outside India, on proto-historic and pre-historic antiquities, *e.g.*, in Egypt and Europe and these latter have been proved to be alphabetic signs. Secondly, the custom of engraving a single letter which was also the initial letter of a name was by no means unknown to India. A typical case is furnished by Stūpa No. 3 at the well-known Sanchi in the Bhopal State, Central India. Here two relic-caskets were found, the inner surfaces of whose lids bear, in one case, the letter *sa* and, in the other, the letter *ma*. If we had had merely these relic-caskets to go upon, I am sure the significance on these individual letters would not have been grasped, and they would have been thought to be mere ownership marks. But fortunately for us, they were found inside two boxes, apparently of ordinary stone, each incised with an inscription to the following purport and explaining the initials: in one case *Sariputasa*, and in the other, *Maha-Mogalanasa*. Is it not thus clear that the single letters *sa* and *ma* of the relic-caskets stand for the initial letters of the names Sariputta and Moggalana? Precisely the same must have been the case with the individual letters scratched on the pre-historic pottery of India which, be it noted, has been found in burial or inhumation sites. If there is any scepticism still left on this point, it is completely dispelled, I think, by two neoliths lying in the collection of the pre-historic antiquities of the Indian Museum. The credit of perceiving their importance goes solely to Mr. Panchanan Mitra, who is, perhaps, the only Indian scholar of the pre-historic archæology of India. While one day he was

engaged upon inspecting the pre-historic artifacts in our Museum, he suddenly lighted upon these neoliths which he rightly inferred to be inscribed with some characters. He forthwith hastened to my office-room and placed them before me for examination. One of these was certainly a celt of greenish stone found in Assam. It bears apparently four letters, two of which are exactly and one almost exactly similar to those of the pre-historic character of Egypt as may be seen from a comparison to the table published by Dr. F. Petrie in a recent number of the *Scientia*. And what is strange is that they have all been connected by one continuous line as in the pre-historic Minoan epigraphs. The other neolith came from a place near Ranchi and is a tiny piece of hematite stone shaped like the palm of the right hand. It is faintly scratched with three letters only, two of which bear fairly great resemblance to those of the Brāhmī *lipi* of the Asoka period. These were the letters at the ends, one of which was *ma* and the other *ta*. The middle letter as it stood could not be read for a long time. Then it occurred to me that the letter *ta* was evidently in a reversed form and the other, *viz.*, *ma*, must remain the same even when it is reversed. Might the middle letter similarly present a reversed form? I at once held the neolith before a mirror and to my agreeable surprise I found that the middle letter came fairly close to the Asokan *a*. As all the letters are reversed the inscription has to be read from right to left and reads accordingly *ma-a-ta*. This neolith, as I have just told you, was found in Bihar where there are still some tribes with non-Aryan tongues, which are believed to furnish a key to the languages spoken by the predecessors of the Aryan conquerors of India. And as was pointed out to me by Mr. Mitra, there is a word *Mahto* or *Mahtou* in non-Aryan parlance, signifying "a chief or headman" as is clear from Russell's *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces in India* and Risley's *Tribes and Castes*

of Bengal. Could the *Ma-a-ta* of the neolith be equivalent to *mahto* or *mahtou*? Whatever the answer to this query may be, this much is certain that we have here two neoliths whose neolithic character is undisputed and which bear each, not one individual letter so that it may be thought to be an ownership mark but many letters one containing three and the other four. No scepticism is therefore here possible as to these being alphabetic signs and not ownership marks—a conclusion which is further fortified by the fact that they bear resemblance to what we know to be the actual alphabetic characters. Thus the discussion about the origin of the Brāhmī alphabet is transferred from the historic to the pre-historic sphere. This is just as it should be, for even in Europe all Semitic and other alphabets are now being traced to the pre-historic times and the view is gradually gaining strength that the alphabet originated with the pre-historic man. It is true that Dr. Petrie, the most celebrated Egyptologist of the modern day, thinks pre-historic Egypt to be the cradle of all alphabets because it presents the largest signary from which the Phœnicians and the Greeks borrowed as many signs as were necessary for their alphabetic purposes; but I am afraid that this is by no means yet an incontrovertible conclusion, especially as pre-historic archæology of India is still in its infancy; and as its study develops as a science, pre-historic India may yield a still larger signary which was drawn upon not only by the Aryans and later peoples of India but also by outsiders,—the Phœnicians, Greeks, and even Egyptians. Hence at the present day, when characters of the neolithic period have been found in India, if we still insist upon asserting that the ancient Brāhmī *lipi* is derived from the South or North Semitic character, why not then derive it from the present English alphabet? This may incline one to laugh, but I may mention in this connection that in 1905, when I was in Calcutta, a young intelligent Bengali scholar, unfortunately now dead, showed

me a note in which he most ingeniously derived the old Brāhmī characters from the present English alphabetic letters by adopting precisely the same principles according to which Bühler derived them from the North Semitic signs. And we know that a similar attempt has been but recently made by Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha of Ajmer. Of course, all alphabets are at present being traced to one alphabet, which as I have just said, was invented in the pre-historic period. Hence it is no wonder even if an earlier alphabet can be derived from a later one. But what I emphatically assert is that when symbols of this pre-historic alphabet closely resembling some of the Brāhmī *lipi*, are actually noticeable on the most ancient remains of the primitive man in India and cannot be later than 3000 B. C. but may be as early as 6000 B. C., it is absurd to trace the old Brāhmī *lipi* to any Semitic script of 700 B. C.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

Calcutta.

ISLAMIC REGENERATION.

BY S. KHUDA BUKHSH, M.A., B.C.L. (OXON),

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IT must be manifest to the least observant that within recent years a great change, change for the better, has come over us. As a community we are striving strenuously to improve ourselves, and we are beginning to realize that no progress or advancement, in any real sense of the word, is possible without unity and co-operation. In fact recent events have revealed the extent to which the spirit of unity and co-operation has developed. Verily it is encouraging, and augurs well for the future. The first Literary Conference, still fresh in our minds, is one of the unmistakable manifestations of this new and welcome spirit. We shall make no reference to politics, but shall consider here matters purely educational. Education is a subject of absorbing interest and of utmost utility—look at it from whatever point of view we may. We need not go over the ground traversed since the dawn of reasoning; namely, the usefulness of education in the making of a good citizen. It is now as clear as day. Education enlarges the mind and uplifts the soul. It gives a clearer and wider outlook on life; it instils sympathy and it inculcates tolerance; it fashions character and teaches the dignity of man. No one will dispute the benefits that education has conferred upon humanity and will continue to confer to the end of time. It must then be our solemn duty to do all we can towards its advancement. I shall not take up time in discussing university education in India. Whether the universities here have attained the ideal which they aimed at; whether they have succeeded in making their *alumni* what a university, true to its

ideal is supposed to make them; whether any or what reform is needed—these questions are not meant for us, nor need we linger over them. I propose to discuss a question, affecting us nearer home; namely, the question regarding our own Islamic Learning. I propose to discuss what our duties and obligations are to our own learning—Arabic, Persian and Hindustani—; how far we have discharged those obligations; and what must needs be done in future. Great admirer as I am of European culture, I set our own learning first and foremost in the curriculum of our studies. And this for obvious reasons; our own learning is the embodiment of our hopes, traditions, aspirations. It is the reflection of our civilisation, the mirror of our character. It is the monument of our achievements. It is our glory, our very own heritage from the past. I have called it, you will notice, our own learning. Though Arabic and Persian are not our own languages yet they are the two languages in which the highest achievements of Islam lie enshrined. And to us Muslims they have a priceless value; an invaluable interest; an interest which binds us to them for evermore; an interest which transcends the barriers of race and nationality. The tie is religion—the unbreakable tie. Arabic is the language of the Qur'an. Besides, it contains a literature worthy of a great nation. The heralds and pioneers of the Middle Ages, it was left to the Muslims—amid the tumult of fallen and falling things—to carry on the traditions of learning, to uphold the torch of culture. We may find in Von Kremer, Bebel and Dierds (to mention only a few) some acknowledgment of the great debt which Europe owes to Muslim civilisation. And, yet to our eternal shame, while France, Germany and England are engaged in the study and exploration of Islamic culture and civilisation, we sit with folded hands, heedless of our obligations and oblivious of our duty.

Wie von ein bösen Geist im Kreis herumgeführt
Und ringsherum liegt schöne grüne weide.

Thus we are circumstanced, and such apparently is our unhappy situation! Can we not attend to this, our long-neglected duty? Have we not materials available? Have we not sufficient money for enlightened uses? Have we not sufficient men to work with? Surely we have, and to spare, but we have not the will, the inclination for it. We have Libraries—let us mention one—the Khuda Bukhsh Library at Bankipore—where there are unique treasures. We have literary, historical, religious MSS.—extremely rare and some absolutely scarce MSS,—which, were they only edited and published, would enlarge the boundaries of Islamic Learning, and throw a flood of light on Islamic civilisation. There are other libraries too, public and private Libraries in India, where priceless MSS. lie buried, neglected, forlorn, unread. Surely we should do something for these invaluable landmarks of Muslim Lore! We have suffered Europeans to do what was pre-eminently ours to do. We have let them edit and publish immortal works such as those of Tabari, Ibn Athir, Ibn Sa'ad, Shahrastani, and thousands of others. The Z.D.M.G., a German quarterly publication, publishes the ripest results of European scholarship. The Europeans have annexed to their domain of learning, the learning of the East. We cannot but bow, in silent admiration, to the intelligent industry of a Von Kremer, a Wellhausen, a Goldziher. Does this indifference and neglect reflect credit on us? Is it not time for us to gird up our loins and bestir ourselves. Let us take the words of Lord Morley to heart,—words of solemn truth and wisdom. “In our own day communities and men who lead them have still to learn that no waste is so profuse and immeasurable, even from the material point of view, as that of intellectual energy checked, uncultivated, ignored, or left without its opportunity.” (Miscellanies, Vol. II, p. 46.)

Could not institutes be founded for Islamic Culture and Civilisation as for Sanscrit Learning? If such institutes

were to come into existence, at some suitable places, they would, in course of time, develop into centres of Islamic Light and Lore. Islamic Studies would receive support and encouragement; there the texts, sorely in need of publication, would see the light of day; there the struggling scholar, relieved of penury and need, woes and worries, would pursue his studies with an easy mind and cheerful heart. And I am persuaded that all this could be done by our single and unaided effort, were we so inclined. I believe in self-reliance. I believe in working out our own salvation and in looking nowhere else but to our own selves for direction or assistance. Loss of self-reliance means loss of manhood.

I have no faith in turning to other quarters than our own. Let us stand on our own strength, fight our own battle. This should be our guiding principle, and unless we seriously and whole-heartedly adopt it as the guiding, governing, controlling maxim of our life, our talk will be but idle chatter; our aspirations, an empty dream.

But if Arabic is the language of the Qur'an and of a vast, informing, inspiring literature, no less is the claim of Persian. It is the language of culture and refinement; and who can be insensible to its ineffable charms? I have always held that a Mohamedan's education is one-sided and incomplete without it. It has a wealth of thought and ideas, and a literature second to none in the world. To Persian we owe allegiance as much as we do to Arabic. It, too, like Arabic, embodies the culture and civilisation of Islam. Here, also, lies a vast field unexplored; a great deal of good work unattempted and undone. This, like Arabic, has again been the exclusive sphere of activity on the part of Europeans.

Institutions such as I have sketched, will do for Persian what they will do for Arabic.

We are not in need of examples of benefactions in the history of Islam. Every nobleman, every man of wealth,

was a patron of Letters. Learning, in the hey-day of Islam, was, so to speak, in the air, and learned men were held in high esteem. We may read in Dr. Wüstenfeld's *Academien der Araber* of the number of universities that sprang up in Islamic countries—universities, largely and lavishly endowed, not by Government, but by private donations. These far-famed seats of learning attracted scholars and students from all parts of the world. Learning was not sold, but given, and learned men lived and studied and wrote free from the sordid cares of life. The Biographical Dictionary of Ibn Khallikan is instructive reading; for it is a noble testimony to the Islamic love and devotion to learning. I have no time here to describe the glories of Baghdad, Cairo and Cordova, or to cite instances of literary patronage such as we have in the history of the Court of Hamadan. I must refer my readers to the glowing pages of Sedillot, Viardot, Dozy and Zydan. What I fervently hope and pray is that we, following the example of the great Muslim benefactors of the past, will prove ourselves worthy of the traditions of Islam.

If Arabic and Persian have not had their due—no more has Hindustani had its due. The necessity for English education has completely thrown these languages into the background, and this fact is all the more to be regretted as the ignorance in this connection has stood in the way of the real and genuine progress of the Mohamedans. No one will deny for one moment the educative value or the expansive force of European culture and civilisation, but is European culture to be acquired only at the expense and sacrifice of Eastern culture? There can be no two opinions on this subject, and yet while the one sphere of activity is coming more and more to the front, the other is steadily on the decline. Orientals we are, and orientals we must remain, and European culture can never be for the majority of us more than incidental and subsidiary acquisition. It is therefore to Eastern culture that we must

pre-eminently turn. Let us take all we can from the West. Let us study its languages and literatures, its history and civilisation; let us assimilate and absorb all that is worth assimilating and absorbing, but let us not play the sedulous ape to the West, nor lose our distinctive stamp and individuality. Otherwise we shall lose all that is ours without making our own that which really does not and cannot belong to us.

To Hindustani we must turn. It is the *lingua franca* of nearly all India. It has a fine literature, and a bright future lies before it. It needs care, cultivation. Do we bestow upon it the solicitude that it justly deserves? I am afraid the answer must be in the negative. Have we done anything in the way of making this literature accessible in decent editions? Ghalib has been published at Cawnpore, and the edition is certainly a credit to its publishers. But where can we look for and find decent editions of Mir Taqi, Sawda, Zawq, Momin, and others of the immortals? Are they not worthy of remembrance, respect, veneration? Are they not the great intellectual giants of Muslim India? And is this the reward of greatness—neglect, oblivion, ingratitude? Are these illustrious ones unworthy even of a decent edition? And what attempt has been made to write the history of their earthly pilgrimage? Is there any biography of any of these worth the name? England has its “Men of Letters,” and so has France, but for these alas! there is the eternal sleep in an eternal night. We have thus the pitiful spectacle of a literature which can show no decent editions of its classics, and of a people who have no biographical dictionary to record and hand down the deeds of their noble dead. Enough! Were we to make a catalogue of our deficiencies and shortcomings it would make doleful reading. Let us do something useful, something practical, something substantial—and let it be done quickly. Let us have realities as well as dreams. A large field lies before us calling for intelligent and enthusiastic labour.

Let us, then, in all seriousness set to work. I have indicated the directions in which we can usefully and profitably devote our energies, and were we to realise but a tithe of what we hope and expect, a great step would have been taken towards the intellectual and moral regeneration for which we all so fervently, so passionately pray. Though the goal be still far off, we need not despond. Only let the foundation be laid ; a beginning made. Poets have dreamed of "the Parliament of man and federation of the world." May we not also hope that in some more or less near future this beautiful land of ours will become a land of real learning, a cradle of true heroes, a nursery of genuine patriots ; a land where religion will be a uniting and not a disintegrating force ; a land where love will hold complete sway, and light will for ever dissipate our darkness ? To that end let us all strive. Each generation must contribute its share, and by its quota each generation will be judged. We should therefore make our contribution to the cause of culture and education a solid and not a shadowy contribution. Let us remember for ever more the solemn and soul-stirring words of that finest and saddest of all Russian writers—Dostoievsky—"Humble thyself, thou man of Pride ! Set thy hand to labour, thou man of leisure."

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

AN INDIAN PEPYS.

BY J. N. DAS GUPTA, I.E.S.

TO-DAY it is superfluous to speak of the importance to students of History of Diaries and of Contemporary Memoirs as affording materials for the reconstruction of the past. In this connection, one has only to think of the great Diarist of the Restoration days in England, in whose pages we have an absolutely faithful reflection of the spirit of the age after the return of the Merry monarch from his enforced foreign travels. For students of Mogul India, there is the Venetian Manucci, whose narrative now appears in an English garb in four stately tomes of the Indian Records Series, a Series whose publication began during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon in India. For the opening days of English Settlements in Bengal, we have the invaluable Diary of William Hedges—to whose interest as a source of historical information pointed attention has, within recent years, been drawn in some of the Public Lectures delivered before the University of Calcutta. Coming to later days, we have Ives, who was an intimate friend of Watson, and who accompanied the Admiral in the relieving expedition which sailed from Madras under the command of Watson, and who was with the Admiral throughout the eventful months which preceded and followed the recapture of Calcutta after the tragedy of the Black Hole.

Here I propose to invite attention to another Indian Diarist whose name, because of the faithfulness and general liveliness of his narration, deserves to be more familiarly known to historical students in India, and who has been rightly designated an Indian Pepys by his English Translator. The work I refer to is the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Dubash to Dupleix—a record of matters political,

historical, social and personal from 1736 to 1761 by one who, by reason of his official position, has had exceptional opportunities of coming into intimate personal contact with some of the chief actors and principal historical personages of the day. As Sir Frederick Price, the English Translator of Pillai, explains, "what induced him to keep a Diary, there is nothing to show. It is very clear that it was never written with the slightest view to publication. It stands unique as a record of the inmost thoughts and reflections of an extremely able, level-headed oriental and of his criticisms,—which, at times, are of the freest character,—of his fellows and masters." The spirit, however, in which the Diarist approaches his task is manifest in the very opening words of the Diary—"I proceed to chronicle what I hear with my ears; what I see with my eyes—the arrivals and departures of ships and whatsoever wonderful or novel takes place,"—what I see with my eyes, what I hear with my ears, the unvarnished tale supplied by his unbiassed personal observation and the dry light of his experience,—not hearsay evidence as a rule—this is the main source from which he derives his materials—here is the standard of accuracy which he sets up for himself. Later on in his Diary, when speaking of a monetary transaction, Pillai records in conformity with his standard—"I do not know the actual outlay, I refrain from giving merely approximate figures." And Dubash that he is—an interpreter, a broker—purchase and sale of merchandise being his principal occupation, he naturally proposes to speak specially of the arrivals and departures of ships—the trading operations of the representatives of the French East India Company, whose main ostensible business in the East was not Empire-building, but the building up of a profitable, prosperous trade. As to the spirit, therefore, in which historical students should approach such a work in their task of examination and interpretation of its contents, there is little doubt that the Puritan Prynne, in his comments on

Archbishop Laud quoted below, sets forth the true criterion for us.

“An exact Diary is a window into his heart that maketh it; and, therefore, pity it is that any should look therein but either the friends of the party or such ingenious foes as will not, especially in things doubtful, make conjectural comments to his disgrace.”

Dubash to the Governor of the French at Pondicherry from 1736 to 1761, what a vista does this open out to students of Indian history. For those were the golden days of the French in India, days of bold scheming and of prosperous trade with Mocha on one side, China and Acheen on the other, of bold diplomatic moves and equally bold political experiments, fateful days which prepared the way for the coming duel fought round Arcot and Trichinopoly—a duel which, in God's Providence, ended in the ultimate triumph of the English cause at Wandewash.

The first entry in Ranga Pillai's Diary is dated 6th September 1736. We are thus introduced to the administration of M. Dumas, who succeeded M. Lenoir as Governor-General of the French possessions in India in September of the previous year. The government of Dupleix was not yet, though his connection with India had already begun in 1721, with his appointment as one of the Supreme Council at Pondicherry. From 1731, however, as intendant of Chandernagore, Dupleix was displaying the energy and resourcefulness which gave a foretaste of his future policy as Governor-General of French India. In 1736, M. Lenoir was still lovingly remembered at Pondicherry, and the entries in Pillai's Diary leave little doubt that our Diarist was one of those who regretfully looked back on Lenoir's departure. Two of the achievements of the French during the administration of M. Dumas, for which he was duly and generously rewarded by the authorities at home, and of which his countrymen were justly proud, are the acquisition of the right of coinage and the acquisition of Karikal. Pillai

would have us believe that the real credit for both these achievements belongs to M. Lenoir, thanks to his prudent and tactful policy of non-interference. It was but an accident that M. Dumas reaped the reward.

As is well known, M. Dumas was made Knight of the Order of St. Michael, and received patent letters of nobility in recognition of his signal services in the matter of the coinage. In reference to this, Pillai naively observes, "The honour conferred upon him will give the following privileges to his descendants. His sons will take rank as nobles, and may marry into noble families, and his daughters may be married to members of the nobility. As for M. Dumas himself, he will be greeted with honour wherever Frenchmen are ; he being a chevalier of the Order of St. Michael. When he goes to the Capital of France, he will be exempt from the royal taxes, to which all other Frenchmen are liable." Our Diarist's exposition of some of the exclusive privileges of the French nobility, their exemption from the burden of taxation, almost challenges comparison with the classic explanation offered by the renowned traveller, Arthur Young, regarding the difference between English and French methods of taxation. Whereas in England, the rich are taxed for the relief of the poor, in France—the *tiers état*—the poor are taxed for the maintenance of the rich. That an Indian Dubash should have thus laid his finger on one of the diseased spots in the body politic of France—half a century before the coming *autodafe* of the 4th of August—is a scathing commentary on the supineness and political blindness of the men at the helm of affairs in France under the ancient *régimé*.

Pillai does not give us any formal or elaborate account of the administrative system which obtained in French India in his time. But from the entries in his Diary, it is quite easy to form a fairly accurate idea of the then prevailing system. The Governor was aided by a Council consisting of five members. The entire administration was

in the hands of this Council which was presided over by the Governor. The administration of justice was in the name of the King, but the Governor and the Councillors were the servants of the Company. The subordinate chiefs of the other French settlements in India were subject to the authorities at Pondicherry.

Similarly, Pillai does not tell us anything specifically about the topography of the Pondicherry of his day. But we gather from his entries that the town was practically surrounded with a wall, which was pierced at various points with gates of varying importance, intended to be used for different purposes. Inside the walled area, stood the official residence of the Governor; close to which was a public garden. As is to be expected in the case of a city designed by the French, the public garden was adorned with public walks and imposing avenues of trees. The streets in the town ran at right angles to one another. The Jesuits had a College of their own, but there were also pagodas and Hindu temples within the walled area. Inside the public garden was erected a house for the reception of distinguished guests. Here were lodged the female relations of the Mohamedan grandees who sought shelter in Pondicherry during the incursion of the Mahrattas into the Carnatic. For, as Orme explains:—

The fortifications of Pondicherry were at this time in such reputation amongst a people who had never before seen anything equal to them, that the late Nabob, as well as Subdar Ally and Chanda Saheb, had sent their wives, children, and treasures, to remain there during the war. As soon as the Mahrattas quitted the province, Subdar Ally and Chanda Saheb, attended by a large retinue, went to Pondicherry, where they stayed several days. Subdar Ally returning to Arcot, took with him his own and his father's family; but Chanda Saheb proceeding to Trichinopoly, left the women of his family and one of his sons there.

In reference to Orme's statement that the wife of Subdar Ally took refuge in Pondicherry, Malleison observes that it appears from the correspondence of M. Dumas with the Mahrattas that she joined her husband at Vellore. In Pillai, however, we have an entry under date 6th July, 1740, which is conclusive evidence of the correctness of Orme's statement and which sets the matter at rest. Pillai tells us :—"At 6 in the morning, the consort of Nawab Subdar Ally Khan, . . . arrived from the fort at Vellore. They were attended by a few men of rank, and were escorted by 500 soldiers. There were in their train 300 horses, 10 elephants, 20 or 30 camels and 30 or 35 carriages." The refugees were received with great pomp and ceremony by the authorities at Pondicherry. We are told that a deputation was sent out to welcome them. The Governor and the Councillors waited at the gate to receive the visitors. When these reached the gate, drums were beaten, and 21 guns were discharged from the ramparts. They then repaired to the apartments provided for them and, on their arrival there, a salute of 21 guns was fired from the fort. A similar public reception was accorded to the wife of Chanda Saheb, when she came to Pondicherry two days later. There is little doubt that these ceremonious receptions were dictated by diplomatic considerations, the obvious object of M. Dumas being to cement his friendship with Chanda Saheb, the son-in-law of Dost Ali. Here therefore is a link in the chain of events which made it inevitable that the French should advocate the claims of Chanda Saheb, in the coming struggle in the Carnatic, when Duplex appeared on the scene in his *rôle* of the king-maker.

In the present year of grace (1919) when a large part of the Province of Bengal lies prostrate under the effects of a devastating cyclone, the accompanying account of three severe hurricanes, which swept over Pondicherry in November, 1745, one after another in rapid succession, within the short space of 24 days, will be read with mingled

feelings of horror and of thankfulness. Under date 4th November, 1745, Pillai notes :—

“Pondicherry was last night visited by a hurricane, which commenced immediately after sunset. It blew the whole night. The destruction caused by it cannot, even approximately, be estimated. During the night, the avenues of margosas and portias growing in the town were uprooted. Many trees were twisted out of shape. The cocoanut, mangoe, and other trees in orchards and gardens were all laid low, and many persons have thereby been ruined. On the banks of the Upparu river, people had erected houses on the ground allotted to them, and were dwelling in these. During the night, however, the river rose in flood, and the sluices constructed for the diversion of the water gave way, with the result that the houses in the three streets of the newly formed suburb were all swept away. The water rose to the height of a cubit over the ruined buildings. Many were drowned; the cattle also perished in great numbers. The town of Pondicherry was inundated, and those streets which were at a low level were submerged. In some places, the water reached up to the waist; in others, up to the thigh. Very many of the houses in the streets which lay under water collapsed. During the storm, crows, sparrows and other birds, perished in large numbers and their remains lay floating on the water which filled the streets. The ravages of the gale were not confined to the town itself. They extended also to outlying places, where many houses were laid low. The plantations were utterly destroyed. The live stock outside the town dropped down, and died in great numbers. The dead sheep were purchased and brought into the city by the people, who cut them up, and laid the meat out to dry in their houses. The pieces of flesh, however, were soon wetted by the rain, and as they were not sufficiently dried, emitted a sickening stench, which pervaded the whole place. So great was this, that people were deterred for a couple of days or so, from moving about the

streets. By the grace of God, however, the morning dawned, the wind abated, and the rain ceased; and within three hours the floods subsided. The houses of the inhabitants were thus rendered safe. Had the storm continued a day longer, not a single building in the town would have remained standing. It was owing to their good deeds that God preserved the people from further injury." Again under date 23rd November, we read:—"This night, a violent gale blew for three hours." Finally on the 28th November of the same year the Diarist records:—"From 7 o'clock last night until 9 this morning, a hurricane swept over the town, with much violence. Its strength might be about three-fourths of that of the first storm, but many people are inclined to think that it was only half as severe. This low estimate is owing to the smaller amount of damage caused; all the mischief that could be done having occurred during that preceding it. This last, however, laid low the trees which had escaped the violence of the first. Never before have there been three storms within the same month. What evil times may these be?"

I now proceed to invite attention to a few characteristic entries which throw a highly interesting sidelight on the state of society in Southern India, as also on some of the maxims of policy which guided the French in their Colonial Administration, premising only that the entries relate to a period when the irruption of the Mahrattas into the Carnatic under Raghoji Bhonsla and Murari Rao had already begun.

What the coming of the Mahrattas meant to the neighbourhood of Pondicherry is forcibly brought out in the pages of our Diarist, who has more than one reference to the ravages wrought by the invaders. On 15th May 1740, Pillai records "a force of Mahratta Cavalry, 40,000 or 50,000 strong, advanced, and after levying blackmail from the inhabitants to the extent of 60,000 or 70,000 rupees marched against C— where a day's fighting ensued."

He adds—“ I received letters from the commandants of the forts, and other respectable inhabitants of Gingee, and Wandiwash. The writers of these spoke in harrowing terms of the depredations of the Mahrattas, and entreated that accommodation might be prepared in Pondicherry for them, their wives, and children.” Again “ The Brahmans and other *caste people* flocked into Pondicherry from morning until evening.” This is the constant refrain of several entries in succession. Our Diarist himself brought over his broadcloths from Arcot under an escort. But to pass on to topics of a different order.

The entry under date 28th February 1741 runs :—

It having been found this morning that a peon had employed a bricklayer and a labourer to work after 6 on his ground, at the building site allotted on the bank of the Upparu River, he and the workmen were imprisoned.

The modern student of Economics naturally pauses to enquire if this is an anticipation of the programme of our present-day Labour party.

Next we come to an order prohibiting sale of liquors. To-day—Wednesday—notices were exhibited by order of the Council, in the fort, the court-house, and the church, and at the town-gates and were to the following effect :—
“ The Supreme Council of Pondicherry, acting under instructions from the King of France, decrees, on the 27th February, 1741, and makes it known to all the white and black population of Pondicherry, that the consumption of intoxicating liquors should be discontinued, as far as possible, during the present emergency ; it being known that the excessive drinking of these causes many diseases during the hot months of the year. Let it, therefore, be an imperative rule that any person, to whatsoever race he may belong, who sells or causes to be sold, from the 1st March to the 1st September, brandy, liqueurs, Batavia rum, Colombo *arrack*, Goa rum, *pattai arrack*, or other spirituous liquor, or who in any other way acts in contravention of this order, shall

be punished with imprisonment for a year, and shall also be liable to a fine of 1,000 pagodas. One part of the fine realised shall go to the Company, another to the poor-box, and the remainder to the person who gives information of such surreptitious sale. Let it not be thought that this is an idle command. It is intended to strictly enforce it. Any person, whether a Tamilian, or a Pariah or of any other class, who sells or gives spirituous liquor to a soldier or any other person, or who carries it for hire, shall, on proof thereof, be punished with whipping in the court-house, be branded on the right shoulder with the figure of a dog, and be driven beyond the bounds of the town. Any one who possesses cocoanut trees growing in a garden or the backyard of a house, and who sells, or causes to be sold, to any one even the least quantity of toddy, either in the garden, backyard, or any other locality or who drinks or causes another to drink toddy shall be punished with imprisonment and fine as aforesaid. Toddy-drawers may convert toddy into vinegar, and sell it. It is further decreed by the Council that every person having liquors as aforesaid in his house, shall, within three days, repair to the office of registry, and sign a declaration, setting forth the quantity in his possession. In default, he shall be liable to a fine of 200 pagodas, and the liquors found in his possession will be seized, and confiscated for the use of the hospital. Those who sign the declaration as aforesaid, shall be entitled to retain possession of such quantity as is allowed by rule; the remainder will be conveyed to the Company's storehouse and the value thereof paid to the owners. These orders shall be obeyed by all." Such was the tenor of the notices displayed in the above-mentioned localities.

This order was withdrawn at a later date, when the need for adopting precautionary measures against dangers incident to the Mahratta incursion was not quite so pressing. At the time of the promulgation, however, the authorities at

Pondicherry evidently attached considerable importance to it. It was issued over the signature of the Governor and all the five Councillors. It was posted at the City Gate and put up in all prominent public places. As the order itself declared, it was not intended to be a dead letter—a mere homily or declaration of a pious wish.

Ordinances like these inevitably remind us of some of the opportunities which city states of the ancient world enjoyed for the regulation of the life of the individual citizen, the smallness of the area and the necessarily limited number of the population to be dealt with being favouring circumstances which no modern administration can hope to see reproduced. But they also suggest possibilities of development in certain directions of the spheres of activity of some of our local municipal institutions. That, however, is a large topic, not to be handled parenthetically on the present occasion. The case for small states is once again engaging the attention of publicists all the world over, and it will be remembered that the arguments in their favour have been recently urged with his characteristic skill and energy by Mr. Herbert Fisher in an admirable pamphlet entitled “The Value of Small States” and published by the Oxford University Press.

What a lurid light does the following entry throw on the position of the Pariah in Southern India, and how significant of the importance of Christian endeavour in uplifting their social status :—

“At 8 this morning the church was the scene of a remarkable occurrence. The priest of Karikal, who is on a visit to Pondicherry, noticed the distinction made between the Pariah and caste Christians when attending to perform their devotions. A wall has been erected, as a barrier, on the northern side of the interior of the church. On one side of this, the Pariahs collected for worship, and on the other, caste Christians, Eurasians, and Europeans, assembled during the service. This privilege was obtained by the

Native Christians at some former time ; and the distinction of castes has been maintained up to now. The priest of Karikal, however, was offended at this and instigated the Pariah Christians to remonstrate. They all went in a body to His Reverence the senior priest, and complained in these words : ‘ If we are really your disciples, it behoves Your Reverence to treat us all alike. The Lord makes no distinction amongst his worshippers. The caste Christians have, however, thought fit to keep us without the pale, and you have acceded to their demand. We submit that this is a partial proceeding and we request an explanation at the hands of Your Reverence.’ The priest, having listened to all this, declared that their complaint was just, and immediately ordered the demolition of the barrier wall. Addressing the assembled people, he said : ‘ You are all my children ; you may, at your pleasure, mingle with the rest of the congregation, and attend divine worship.’ So saying, he dismissed them with his blessing.

An evening service was held to-day in the church. No distinction of caste was made, but Pariahs, Eurasians, Europeans, and Tamilians, all mingled together, and attended it.”

Let us place by the side of this another illuminating entry illustrative of the relation which existed between the *right-hand* caste and the *left-hand* caste,—meaning the agriculturists and the artisans.

A notice was exhibited at the court-house, fort, and the gates of the town, purporting to be an order of the Supreme Council, issued by royal command. It ran thus :—

“ Whereas it has been represented to us that the men of the right-hand caste object to Chettis and other sectarians of the left-hand entering the town by the Madras street, either on horseback, or in *palanquins* ; and whereas they urge, on the ground of longstanding custom of the country, that this privilege should be reserved to them alone, we, the members of the Supreme Council of

Pondicherry, hereby pronounce that the claim of the right-hand caste to the exclusive use of this road cannot be admitted. It is the emphatic declaration of His Majesty that this town shall be free to all its inhabitants, irrespective of caste or creed; that there shall be no bar or restriction in the case of any particular sect; and that all shall be allowed unrestrained enjoyment of the streets, so long as the laws of the State are not infringed. The new Madras street has been thrown open to the public as a highway, in order that the left-hand caste may share the benefit of it equally with the right-hand. We therefore give publicity to the order authorising the free passage of all traders and Chettis along the Vazhudavur or Madras roads, on horseback, or in *palanquins*. Men of all castes, right-hand, or left-hand, are hereby informed that they can, after entering the town-gates, repair to their respective streets by either of the roads running on the right or the left of the town-wall. Whoever, whether of the higher classes or not, contravenes this order, shall be deemed guilty of disturbing the public peace, and shall be liable to the penalty attaching to that offence. In order that no one may plead ignorance of the existence of this notice, copies of it will be posted at all public places in the town. Issued by order of the Supreme Council, under date the 31st July, 1741."

Entries which relate to matters noteworthy mainly from the historical point of view constitute the major portion of Ranga Pillai's Diary. These I reserve for examination in a separate paper.

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J. N. DAS GUPTA.

THE AIM OF EDUCATION.

BY L. T. WATKINS.

EDUCATION is the handmaid of humanity, and humanity is ever changing, ever developing and modifying its ideals. It follows, therefore, that education if it is to retain its position must also be ever changing and ever modifying its methods to suit the changed conditions. Of all the forces which make men reconsider their interpretation of life and remodel their ideals there is none so strong as war. It was the South African War which in England forced upon educationists the whole question of the physical conditions under which the children of the nation lived (for recruiting for the army had shown a large proportion of those who offered themselves to be unfit from purely avoidable causes). From this has grown the modern system of infant welfare in connection with the schools of the British Isles which has cost the nation millions of pounds annually and which has extended the work of the education departments far beyond the schools themselves to the earliest years of the child's life and to the conditions of the home in which the baby enters upon life.

India is not only undergoing the self-examination which the war has brought to all the world but she was at the time of the outbreak of the war in the throes of a renaissance of learning as full of possibilities as was ever the renaissance of learning in Europe. In addition to this the prospects of far-reaching political reform have set men thinking nationally rather than personally. The appointment of the Calcutta University Commission was only one symptom of the change, and it would appear that nothing would be lost, if the public, before committing themselves to educational policies that

may affect the nation for decades, were to define their aim of education in this twentieth century.

India is passing through a stage in the evolution of education which England is just leaving behind and which some other countries left long ago. It may perhaps be best described as the individualistic stage. Here, as in the past in Europe, schools were merely instruments to enable such as could use them to work their way to a position where they could fulfil their desires, whether such desires were for wealth, or power, or for higher things. Indian schools are only just beginning to consider the possibility of dealing with subjects in which formal examination is impossible. They have hitherto been solely concerned in equipping their students with sufficient knowledge to earn an honourable living. In England and Scotland also this was largely so until the last Education Act was passed. The success of a school was measured by its success in securing scholarships and lucrative appointments for its pupils. Things have now changed. It is realised that the purpose of education should be social and not individual. Man is a social animal and cannot live apart from his fellows. The members of an organism only acquire importance by the proper performance of their functions in the working of the whole. Man therefore must be educated to take such a place in the State as may be most beneficial to society as a whole. This does not imply the levelling of all distinctions or the repression of all individuality, for the greatest asset of any State is variety of attainment and the development of independent opinion throughout all the units of the common wealth. The ease with which the social system of education can be misapplied, with which it has been misapplied from time to time in the history of the world has tended to make men look upon the system with a suspicion that is totally undeserved. Because ancient Sparta or modern Prussia interpreted the purposes of man's social life to mean military dominion over others,

the fault lies with the false interpretation and not with the social idea of education. It would be equally easy and equally false, though possibly less criminal for the State to devote its social system of education to the development of music or the fine arts. Doubtless this would lead to a higher average standard of music and art throughout the people as a whole, and possibly it might bring to light geniuses that otherwise were doomed to obscurity, but the State would lose the services of millions of men who were bad musicians and artists but possibly might have proved excellent in other things. The greatest good of the State must ever lie in the greatest development of all the talents of all the members of the State. This implies a definite encroachment upon the liberties of the individual. It is the business of the State to ensure not that everyone has the opportunity to develop his own particular talents for his own particular good but that he shall be compelled to make the best of such gifts as he has for the benefit of the State.

The theory is dynamic, and its acceptance implies far-reaching reform. Compulsory education is the first corollary, but the point at which compulsory education may be discontinued will vary not only with every race and every district but even with every individual. To discover a satisfactory method of determining when each individual has reached the maximum development which will be advantageous to the State requires the evolution of a new system of test. Experiments with the Binet-Simon methods, despite the reliance placed upon that system by the United States Government in recruiting for the technical branches of their army, have proved to be not altogether reliable. Possibly a system which is suitable for one race is entirely unsuitable for another, and India may have to evolve her own. Further to secure the greatest advantage to the individual in the time at his disposal for education, and thereby to secure for the State the most perfect instrument possible for its needs, new methods of teaching have to be

worked out and these cannot be done without experiment, which is impossible in a system entirely dominated by formal examinations. And, further, experiments which are not classified are of very limited use. A central educational laboratory where the theory of education can be made to keep pace with the progress of the race must be formed to deal with the many wants peculiar to Indian conditions. In Europe such an institution has been in existence since 1899, but it did very little until 1912, when it was re-organised, and its work has been hindered no less than the other works of peace by the events of the last few years. *The Bureau International des Ecoles Nouvelles* confines itself to the consideration of practical experiments in schools of unorthodox types and publishes for the use of the world at large the results of its investigations. India in the Bureau of Education has the germs of such an institution, but the work is limited by the impossibility of experimenting with schools composed of pupils brought up under the individualistic teaching which looks only for the material advancement of the individual and insists upon equal formal tests of attainment as a qualification for lucrative employment of the individual. With a more elastic system of qualification based upon inspection, such as is gradually coming into force, experiment would become possible and with it the advancement of educational science and child psychology.

But there are other branches of education no less important to the State than the mere instruction of the future citizen. A well instructed, but physically or morally weak, citizen is at the best a waste of energy and at the worst a positive danger to the State, and the danger or the waste are in inverse proportion to the excellence of his instruction and intellect. Physical training implies not the imposition of a system of physical culture modified to suit the needs of delicate and deformed children no less than the perfectly healthy ones, but a general supervision over

their clothes, their food, their homes, their habits and their parents, to ensure that as little damage as possible will be done to the good work of the school during the inevitable hours of leisure. The study of the varying needs of children's health again will require a great central institution to devise the best means of securing the welfare of the children of the country.

Moral education and the development of character imply far more than would appear on the surface. Apart from formal instruction in morality based upon religion or civic obligations, the other great forces that work upon the mind of a child are environment and personal example. In the school character is developed by discipline and by the example of the teachers and elder boys. In England, since the time of Arnold, much reliance has been placed upon the granting to the boys themselves of a great measure of self-government to develop in them a sense of responsibility and self-reliance, and there is very little doubt that to this system is due some measure of the credit for the success with which the English nation was able to make up for the deficiencies of preparation for the war by initiative and improvisation. This system has not yet been very largely or successfully tried in India, but the Americans have gone further in the experiment of self-government. It has been argued that the boy must be prepared for the work which he is to do in life and the greater part of a man's life is not spent upon the occupations of his profession but in the performance of his duties as a member of society. Therefore it is necessary to educate him in his social duties no less than in those of his profession. To this end the schools of Gary have been organised as miniature States with their own legislature as well as their own transport and other services of public utility, all of which are organised and maintained by the boys themselves. In India all such activities would be regarded as leisure occupations and carried out only when other duties were finished, but there they constitute

the educational course offered, and the originators claim that the success of the system warrants a revolution in educational method, as knowledge is taught by the practical application of it and character is formed by definite experience, under supervision, of the life which each one will be called upon to lead in manhood.

But character is not formed in school alone. The most potent force in moral education is a good home and above all a good mother. The schoolmaster cannot provide these, but the State can do much by improving the conditions of the workers to make the homes of the people happier and better, and the acquisition of happiness is a great step to the acquisition of goodness. Further, the force of the parents' example is greater than that of the teacher, because, however much the child may love his teacher, he cannot help feeling that the teacher is paid for exemplary conduct, whereas there is no such imputation against the parents. It is therefore essential that the State should interest itself in the condition of living enjoyed by the people, not only for the sake of the present generation, but also for posterity.

India has much that will help towards the development of the education with a social aim. The joint family alone instils ideals of self-renunciation and social service. The boy learns from the earliest times to consider his personal value as dependent upon his value to the entire family and not to himself. Again, those who seek education at all show a greater tendency to follow it to the extreme limits provided by the Universities than the people of any other country, but the purpose of the education of the day is definitely individualistic. Boys go to school and college, and parents permit them to go, purely to increase their earning capacity. If the State now introduces compulsory education in order to give every one the same chance surely the only result will be to produce a larger supply of educated persons than there is any immediate demand for, and that

this class will be discontented because, despite the time and effort spent in acquiring a qualification which hitherto has been the passport to employment, they find themselves not only unemployed, but also unfitted for the many non-literary occupations for which they would in other circumstances have prepared themselves. Is not this actually the tendency with the present voluntary education? But if the people generally realised that the purpose of education, as we have it now, is not to educate a prospective manual labourer above manual labour and so to give him the opportunity of earning a better salary, but by developing his intellect and adding intelligence to mechanical excellence to make his manual labour better, and thus by improving the quality of his work, to increase his value to the State by increasing his productivity, Indian nationalism and Indian progress would receive a very real stimulus. Before India turns to compulsory education as the panacea for all the ills of the body politic let her great men preach the doctrine of the claims of the State to the best that each of her citizens can give. Indians love their homes far more than many other nations and, if they once realise that the good of the fatherland can be obtained by offering up their whole selves to be made into efficient instruments for the great purposes of the fatherland, there will be no unwillingness, and India will take that place in the world to which her millions of inhabitants entitle her.

L. T. WATKINS.

Lahore.

THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY, CALCUTTA.

BY K. N. DHAR.

THE year 1918 marks an epoch in the history of the library movement in India. For the first time in its annals an All-India Conference of Librarians was held at Lahore in January under the presidency of the Educational Commissioner to the Government of India. What with the establishment of reference and leading libraries in different parts of India, the provision for the search for vernacular manuscripts and the institution of at least one library journal and one library association, much has been done in the past. But these are what may be called more or less isolated or local affairs. The Conference proposed to devise the best means of mobilising these library resources and the deliberations of the august assembly are fraught with momentous consequences which cannot fail to be far-reaching. The Historical Records Commission, which met at Simla for the first time in June, 1919, has also for its object the consideration of the best means of throwing open the State archives and thereby encouraging historical research among Indian students.

It may not be out of place to pass in review what the Imperial Library—by far the premier library in India—has so far done in the way of affording facilities to scholars, scientists, historians and the student in general. The institution has now been in existence for a decade and a half, but to trace its origin one would have to go back to the thirties of the last century. Lord William Bentinck had left for England and Lord Auckland was expected here to take up the reins of government. Sir Charles Metcalfe acted as Governor-General in the interim, and, in the autumn

of 1835, rendered himself famous as the "Liberator of the Indian Press" by getting an Act passed by the Supreme Council, the tendency of which was to remove the restrictions previously imposed on the freedom of the Indian Press. On the eve of his retirement his numerous admirers determined to pay a tribute of gratitude to Sir Charles Metcalfe by raising a monument that should perpetuate the memory of his public and private virtues and particularly signalise the last great act of his rule—the emancipation of the Indian Press. The Calcutta Public Library had been established as the result of a meeting held, under the presidency of Sir J. P. Grant, in August, 1835, but it had no habitation of its own. It was kept, up to July, 1841, in the house of Dr. F. P. Strong in Esplanade Row, that gentleman having generously allowed the lower rooms to be used for this purpose. After July, 1841, the books were kept till June, 1844, in the College of Fort William in Writers' Buildings, "which for many of them must have been a return journey." So also was the Agri-Horticultural Society destitute of a building for holding official meetings and displaying curious models of agricultural implements, seeds, specimens of produce, etc. So after some discussion it was decided, in February, 1838, to erect a building sufficiently large to accommodate both the institutions and to name it after the statesman who had long patronised them. Government was asked for a site at the south-east corner of what is now the Dalhousie Square Garden. Lord Auckland, while admitting the importance of the institution, would not give this site. He said: "The site requested from me has been on the south-east corner of the enclosure of Tank Square. This I will not give and I would with all possible strictness lay it down as a rule from which there shall be under no circumstances any departure that the Government will not grant away for any purposes of building a single foot of the Esplanade, or of the interior of Squares or of other vacant

spaces which in the distribution of the Town have been appropriated to light and to ventilation." His Lordship gave the site at the junction of Strand Road and Hare Street and a sum of about Rs. 70,000 was raised by public subscription. The foundation-stone, with a suitable inscription, of the Hall—to be known as Metcalfe Hall—was laid with masonic honours on 19th December, 1840, by Dr. James Grant, Grand Master of Bengal, in the presence of the Governor-General and all the members of the Council and a large number of spectators. The work of construction was completed by Messrs. Burn and Co., in 1844, the design having been chosen from the portico of the Temple of Winds at Athens by Mr. C. K. Robinson (Magistrate of Calcutta), the architect, on account of its lightness and durability. "A broad flight of steps leads to the portico or colonnade on the west or river front, and there is a covered colonnade entrance to the east, with another similar flight of steps which lead up to the entrance hall. The building is raised on a solid, but ornamental basement, 10 feet in height, and columns 30 in number 36 feet in height, rise from this basement and support the general entablature of the building, giving it externally much the appearance of a Greek temple of one lofty storey." Internally there are two storeys, the ground-floor being for many years occupied by the Museum and committee rooms of the Agri-Horticultural Society and the first floor by the Public Library.¹ But, as the Public Library languished under lax management and want of support and the Agri-Horticultural Society failed to attract public interest, the building itself was suffered to fall in disrepair. This state of things continued for nearly half a century till, in 1899, Lord Curzon came to India as Viceroy. One of the subjects to which His Lordship turned his attention at an early date was the need of an Imperial Library in India which should be open to the use of the

¹ The Library was removed there in June, 1844.

public. The increasing use already made of the limited facilities presented by the Imperial Secretariat Library in Calcutta suggested that an institution completely equipped would meet with general appreciation. With this object the Government proceeded, after troublesome negotiations, to acquire from the Calcutta Public Library and the Agri-Horticultural Society their proprietary rights in Metcalfe Hall in Calcutta, and to purchase the books belonging to the former. To confirm and validate these transactions a short Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General and passed as the Imperial Library (Indentures Validation) Act, 1902; and with the sanction of the Secretary of State the post of Librarian was created, in the first instance for five years, to which Mr. John Macfarlane of the British Museum staff was appointed. The renovation and equipment of the building, the work of weeding and cataloguing and the transfer and arrangement of the books from the Secretariat Buildings were completed towards the end of 1902 and, on 30th January, 1903, the new Imperial Library, containing nearly 100,000 books, was formally opened by the Viceroy in the presence of the leading residents of Calcutta. It would appear that in 1904 the Imperial Library was able to furnish "all the new books published in Europe on India and neighbouring countries, with a small selection of the best new books on all subjects, more especially those likely to meet the requirements of officials and of the Calcutta public."

An idea of the scope and functions of the new institution may be gathered from the following extract from resolution (Home Department No. 201-7, dated 30th January, 1903) of the Government of India: "The existing Imperial Library will form the nucleus of the new institution, which will be provided with Reading Rooms, public and private, as at the British Museum and Bodleian Library. It is intended that it should be a library of reference, a working place for

students and a repository of material for the future historians of India, in which, so far as possible, every work written about India at any time can be seen and read."

While the control of the Imperial Library rests with the Government of India who have created its staff and provided for its maintenance and enlargement, its internal management has been delegated to a Council of four members appointed by the Governor-General in Council with the Librarian as Secretary. The executive administration is in the hands of the Librarian. The permanent staff he has to assist him in his work consists of one Reading Room Superintendent, one Head Clerk, twelve assistants and twelve sorters, besides a number of attendants. The services of temporary assistants have also been entertained from time to time as the work increased. The work of a library naturally falls into three main divisions, *viz.*, the acquisition of books, the preparation of them for use, and the use of the books by readers.

Taking the work of the Imperial Library in this order, we have first the acquisition of books. It has already been noted that on 30th January, 1903, when the institution was opened to the public, it consisted of nearly 100,000 volumes. It would appear from the reports that more than another 100,000 volumes have since been added to the collection. There are practically three channels through which accessions come to the library, *viz.*, by purchase, by gift and by the operation of the Registration Act (India Act XXV of 1867).

Purchase.—At the outset an annual grant of Rs. 10,000 was made for the purchase of books. In 1904 an additional grant of Rs. 3,000 was found necessary and the money was utilised in purchasing a number of eighteenth century pamphlets and manuscript maps of parts of India and plans of forts. In 1905 a further grant of Rs. 5,000 was made for adding to the stock of books on commercial and economic

subjects. Six years later, Rs. 2,000, in addition to the sanctioned grant, was available for the purchase of books and in 1912 a sum of Rs. 1,300 was similarly utilised.

The rule formerly was that the Librarian should spend the grant of Rs. 10,000 at his discretion, except that if a work was to cost Rs. 100 or more he must take the sanction of the Council. Since 1912 the rule is to take the sanction of the Council before any book is purchased. Lists of new books laid before the Council are prepared after the perusal of the leading reviews. Lists of second-hand books are similarly prepared from the catalogues of second-hand booksellers, European and Indian.

Gift.—Under the orders of the Government of India (Home Department, Circular No. 685-701, dated 21st May, 1902) numerous deficiencies in the collection of Indian official publications were made up and a copy of all such publications (except confidential) is supplied to the Library as soon as issued. Arrangements have also been made for the supply of British Parliamentary Blue Books, and the collection under these two heads is fairly complete. In 1905 the Government of India addressed the Secretary of State with a view to acquiring for the Library a number of official publications of European governments, dealing with art, oriental literature, archæology and anthropology.

Donations of books and other publications from private persons and institutions have also helped to enrich the Library. Among these may be mentioned a number of illustrated works presented by Earl Curzon and the Raja of Tippera (through his agent the late Mr. C. W. McMinn of the Indian Civil Service). These have been placed in the public Reading Room in special cases suitably inscribed. A valuable collection of about 4,000 volumes of printed books and manuscripts in Arabic, Persian and Urdu were presented by the late Syed Sadr-ud-din Ahmad-ul-Musavi, Zemindar of Bohar in the district of Burdwan. These have

been placed in a special room on the ground floor to which the name of the Bohar Library has been given. Nearly 200 volumes, consisting of works on English literature and English translations of the world's classics, chosen from among the publications of the Clarendon Press, were presented by the University of Oxford, and the British and Foreign Bible Society gave away a set (100 volumes) of its reports.

Among other donors may be mentioned Colonel Dunlop Smith, Private Secretary to H. E. the Viceroy, the Raja of Tanjore, the Trustees of the British Museum, the Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, and the United States Library of Congress.

Registration Act of 1867.—Under India Act XXV of 1867, three copies of every book printed or lithographed in British India are required to be deposited with the Local Government. A copy of each is transmitted to the British Museum and the India Office Library, the third copy being retained in India. Recognising the necessity of collecting the best books published in India, the Government of India made arrangements with the Government of Bengal, in 1903, for making over to the Imperial Library any book which had been received in the Bengal Library under the Act and might be required for the Imperial Library. A selection from the books received in the Bengal Library under the Registration Act is accordingly sent to the Imperial Library when the Bengal Librarian has written his report on them.

It having been decided to dispose of the collection in the Bengal Library made since 1867, about 7,000 volumes of vernacular publications were made over to the Imperial Library in the years 1909 and 1910, thus providing it with a collection of interesting books which otherwise could only be procured with difficulty.

In 1904 the Librarian pointed out the difficulty felt by him in collecting books, owing to the apathy of Indian publishers and booksellers who made no response to his request to send their publications by value-paid post. In the following year the Government of India arranged for the purchase, by local governments (other than Bengal) on behalf of the Imperial Library, of every vernacular publication "which is either notable for research or speculation, or is important as an expression of native opinion or is a specimen of any distinguished writer or literary movement, or is a good reprint of a classic," this selection being confined to books in the classical languages (Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit) and in Urdu and Hindi. For the last two or three years the rule has been extended to works in other Indian vernaculars.

In one of his annual reports the Librarian discusses the question of the utility or otherwise of preserving a copy of every book published in India owing to the difficulty attending the variety of languages spoken in it, and suggests that each Presidency should maintain its own collection. There appears to be no doubt about the desirability of doing this, for even the "trash" of one generation may turn out to be the highly-prized treasure of another. One often finds that the retention of trifling pamphlets, which some seriously-minded folk would probably call rubbish, has been of the greatest value to some searcher after out-of-the-way facts.

Arrangements have recently been made for completing incomplete sets of periodicals and for replacing, by better copies, old and rare books the pages of which have become brittle. Manuscripts and early printed Bengali books are also now being collected.

We now come to the second division, *viz.*, the preparation of books for use. When a parcel of books is received in the Library, each volume is examined with a view to imperfections and, in the case of new books, the leaves are

cut before the mark of ownership is affixed to the volumes. The stamp is placed on the back of the title-page, on another fixed page and on the last page of the text and the back of all plates. When this has been done the book is catalogued, classified, indexed, labelled and then placed.

Books are catalogued according to the rules obtaining in the British Museum. In 1913 a special set of rules for cataloguing printed books, maps, etc., was compiled for the Imperial Library. Since the introduction of these rules the measurement of the height of books in centimetres was adopted to describe their size. The use of centimetres, rather than inches, or the now vague symbols 8vo., 4to., fol., etc., possesses the advantage of giving a unit sufficiently small to avoid the necessity of using fractions.

The scheme of classification adopted for books in European languages was formulated by Mr. J. Macfarlane, the first Librarian, and that for books in Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, etc., was introduced by Mr. A. F. Scholfield, officer in charge of the Records of the Government of India. All the books in the Library are now being re-classified and the idea is to compile a shelf-catalogue, when this has been done.

Indexing is now being done on a more generous scale, experts being invited to index special groups of books. It is proposed to compile a bibliography—which has truly been called the grammar of literary investigation—of different subjects, and, with this view, the authorities have begun what may be called analytical subject cataloguing. Periodicals and publications of societies were hitherto catalogued and indexed only as sets. It has now been decided to catalogue and index articles separately when they are of special interest to students in India. It is intended ultimately to have a combined subject index, in one alphabet, of the entire library—books in European languages, oriental books and official publications. There can hardly be any doubt about the usefulness of such an index, for an assistant in a large

reference library is frequently convinced that the information asked for is somewhere in the building, but for want of such an index he cannot lay his hands on it.

It may be noted that the greater portion of the Library is arranged on the shelves according to what is commonly known as the "relative location" system. The "fixed location" system is used only for books over 14 inches in height and for the Reading Room collection.

The following catalogues, besides the monthly *Lists of Additions*, have so far been published:—

- (1) Author-Catalogue of printed books in European languages, with a supplementary list of newspapers—2 vols., 1904; Supplement, 2 vols., 1917-19.
- (2) Catalogue of books in the Reading Room, with index. First edition, 1904; second edition, 1906.
- (3) Subject-index of works on Political Economy, Industries, Commerce and Finance, 1906.
- (4) Subject-index to the Author-Catalogue, 2 vols., 1908-10.
- (5) Catalogue of Indian Official publications,² Vol. 1, 1909.
- (6) Catalogue of Maps and Plans, 1909.
- (7) List of Periodicals, 1913.

Besides card catalogues of accessions to the above, the following catalogues may be consulted in the Library:—

- (1) Handlists and class catalogues of printed books in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Bengali, Pahlavi, Marathi, Gujrati, Uriya, Assamese and Naga, Burmese, Santhali, Karnataka and Tibetan.
- (2) Author-Catalogue of printed books in Arabic, Persian and Urdu.

² This is not available to the public, but the authorities have arranged to make accessible to them another catalogue containing titles of official publications which, though not published for general information in a gazette, nor offered for sale, may be treated in the Library as if they were. This catalogue is now being compiled.

- (3) Handlists and class catalogues of printed books in Arabic, Persian and Urdu.
- (4) Catalogue *raisonnee* of Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Bohar Library. This is now being compiled *de novo*.
- (5) Card Catalogue of books not in the Imperial Library.

Next comes the third division of work, *viz.*, that connected with the use of books by readers. The Reading Room is placed on the upper floor facing the river and is open from 10 A.M. to 7 P.M. on working days and from 2 to 5 P.M. on Sundays and gazetted holidays, excepting the four days of the Durga Puja, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Good Friday, Easter Sunday and the King-Emperor's Birthday. Admission is free to all adults holding a Reading Room ticket which can be had on application to the Librarian.

From the point of view of the reader the Library consists of two main divisions:—First, the Public Reading Room—capable of accommodating some 50 persons—to which the reader has direct access; and secondly, the reserved part of the Library comprising the bulk of the collection, books which may be had on application to the Superintendent of the Reading Room.

Arrangement has been made for borrowing books from the library of the Board of Examiners³ for the use of the readers in the Imperial Library. This arrangement has recently been extended to other libraries. Current periodicals, in European languages, of general as well as scientific interest, are to be found on two tables in the Reading Room and another table containing current issues of vernacular periodicals has recently been placed in the vestibule leading to the corridor to the Reading Room.

³ A similar arrangement had been made with the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but this has for some time past been discontinued.

In the Reading Room is a small stand on which new books are placed as received and kept there for about a month before being relegated to their proper sections. The printed catalogues are also placed on a separate cabinet in the Reading Room.

Books are withdrawn at intervals from the open shelf collection in the Reading Room to make room for new ones. The practice recently has been that no new book added to the collection should be placed so high that it cannot be easily read by a person standing on the floor.

In addition to the use of books in the Library, facilities are given to readers to borrow books for home reading and, as has already been noted, the Library has been advertised as a lending Library. There is no doubt that this is a move in the right direction, for books, as it is said, like coins are only performing their proper function when they are in circulation. Hoarded up, the coins become only so much metal and the books only so much paper and leather.

The Imperial Library has now been doing more than the work of a mere lending Library. It has been performing the functions of what may be called an "information bureau" by furnishing information not only regarding its own collection but any information concerning books and their contents.

The Librarian has for some years past been considering the question of co-operation between all engaged in library work, not only by introducing the system of inter-borrowing between libraries for the use of readers, but also by having all libraries catalogued and classified on a common system. This would enable the contents of one library to be compared with those of other libraries and the poverty of one library in any given subject supplemented by using the wealth of another. It need hardly be added that the element of co-operation and mutual helpfulness among all engaged in library work in India and abroad should be strengthened

and every justifiable extension of such work should receive encouragement and recognition.

The usefulness of a library is also expected to be enhanced, if one may suggest, by having a journal of its own, the contents of which should be attractive and not repellent and the general effect neither dull nor official. This may perhaps be secured by having the contributors not entirely limited to the library profession.

In the early days of the Imperial Library the Librarian while admitting that "there is among the readers a small band of earnest and capable students and several books, besides articles in the more serious reviews . . . have been the fruit of their labours in the Library," deplored the failure of readers to utilise the opportunities provided owing to a disinclination, in the case of Indians, either to give trouble or take it. It is hoped that, with the enhanced facilities now afforded, the utility of the institution will be better and more widely appreciated.

In regard to the preservation of books it may be noted that the bulk of the collection is placed on open shelves with a view to admitting light and air, proper arrangements being made for regularly dusting them. The "feet" of the racks are placed on metal pans filled with a solution to prevent insects from reaching the shelves. As this precaution is ineffective against bookworms an experiment is being made to combat them with closed shelving with asbestos cement sheeting.

Books are bound in the Government Central Press and, in 1913, an improved system of binding was introduced by Mr. A. F. Scholfield, Officer-in-charge of the Records of the Government of India, while acting as Librarian.

A special department has recently been created for repairing brittle, worm-eaten and torn books. Interesting maps in old books on Bengal or on India are being mounted and catalogued separately.

The question of taking effective steps against the tendency of paper to perish in India has also engaged the attention of the Librarian for some years past and, it is understood, this point, among others, was considered in the recent Conference of Librarians.

The accommodation available in Metcalfe Hall having proved unequal to cope with the growth of the Library, a portion of premises 5 and 6, Government Place, North, recently vacated by Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co., has been temporarily acquired to house a part of the collection. Metcalfe Hall, besides, is considered unsuitable for a Library and a bad working place for students, on account of its situation in a noisy part of Calcutta with tram lines on two sides and sheds beyond in which a great deal of cargo is handled. With a view to removing the Library to a place as far removed as possible from all such disturbing elements as well as the presence of "Howrah smoke and Calcutta coal gas" the authorities are arranging to acquire a portion of the southern side of the Porah Bazar land. It is hoped that the new building will be bright, well-lighted, inviting and as up to date as circumstances will allow.

K. N. DHAR.

Calcutta.

THE SPIRIT OF REFORM AND RECONSTRUCTION.

BY THAKORELAL M. DESAI.

I.

HELL is paved with good intentions. So also can some of our discontented-with-the present enthusiasts pave the Devil's own hell down here on God's good earth. If good intentions alone mattered, if they alone worked, certainly we would have the world grown perfect in no time. But they do not. There are other factors to be reckoned with, more important, more productive of lasting effects. Very often a strong but ill-considered ignorant effort at reconstruction with the greatest good-will on earth does as much harm as any that might be done by an evil person. Sometimes it does more harm. People guard against the evil person; they naturally distrust them and thus the evil done by them is counteracted to some extent. The fire, the sincerity of the professed reformer has a sort of fascination for many, and the evil he does is multiplied by the blind following of some weak but ardent natures. It is not easy to find one's way, one's bearings in the intricate, complex and subtle process of history, and after having once strayed away, it takes far more to return and with all that there is no knowing that one will go back to the point one started from. One finds oneself stranded or, at the best, much behind the starting point. The poets and the play-writers see matter for a tragedy in this: the true reformer perceives this as one more difficulty for him. He has not only to contend against the conservative, the hold-with-the-past section, but also to guard against the well-meaning but ignorant reformer.

I remember to have read somewhere that for happiness, vice and virtue are not the only considerations. Knowledge and ignorance are very often powerful factors that bring about happiness or misery for the individual. It is ignorance more often than vice that we find punished in the world. Be that as it may for happiness, it looks very true about reform movement in any sphere of life. It is ignorance or knowledge more than anything else that goes to make a reform movement successful or otherwise. No doubt there are innumerable things that influence any reform movement, both inside and out, but we are very apt to lay an undue emphasis on anything but the essential and important item of the work. Somehow or other the majority of men has a natural distrust of Reason and Intellect.

What has this distrust, this ignoring of the intellect and the reason, done for us? One has not to go very far to find this out. Let us look at the thousands of reform movements, springing up like mushrooms one moment and vanishing the next in every walk of life. Let us examine the history of the human race in its several departments, religion, social life, politics, economics, any of them for instance, and realise how for one successful move, one effort in the right direction, we have had a number of futile attempts and dangerous activities. Oh, the amount of energy wasted. Oh, the wrecks of beautiful noble lives, in the pursuit of a mirage-like ideal, never properly understood, never grasped significantly even so far as it was capable of being perceived. The platitude that we have to blunder and make many mistakes before we succeed, before we hit upon the right thing we want, cannot account for all this gorgeous waste. It might be true for scientific discovery, it might sometimes be true for political history, it might be true at times even for some other spheres of life. But we cannot justify all the blunders, all the half-conscious mistakes, that we have committed and are committing, by the mere utterance of this

easily adjustable platitude. Those mistakes that could have been avoided, with a little more exercise of reason, and a little more knowledge of the prevailing conditions, those mistakes that were committed in a spirit of semi-irresponsibility, carried away by the force of the emotions of the moment, cannot be all rolled into and glossed over in one rigid formula, "they were necessary for human progress: it could not have been otherwise if we wanted to advance." There are certain spheres of life, too sacred to be violated by the spirit of experiment. The work there is of a more delicate nature; wanton destruction cannot do; one has to think and think and achieve a rational confidence in the success of the activity before taking a step. If one cannot see the way before him, one had better let things alone and as they are rather than disturb them without knowing how to restore them to a new and better order.

To what does the combined force of all these failures point? The failures are there. Not one thinking man can deny that fact. Why they failed we cannot directly glean from their history but only by looking at and examining those movements that have survived, and have still their grasp over a great portion of humanity. We can find out the true spirit of reform by an examination of the common and persistent factor in all these successful movements and which those that died lacked. The ancient Hindu civilisation, though as we see it in the life of people to-day, it is only a poor semblance, has still a marvellous hold over millions in spite of the shocks and strokes that it has placidly borne in the course of thousands of years. Why even in its decayed, misunderstood form should it exert such an influence over us? Not that Time has gathered force round it. Nothing of that sort. If Time did anything for it, it only did to weaken its power. Christianity has been the centre of Western life for two thousand years. Buddhism though less potent in the land of its origin, is still

the nucleus of the life of many a nation. Even now we cannot help talking of and drawing parallels from the Greek civilisation. The ideal of Democracy has been slowly but persistently evolved in history and has been a very powerful undercurrent in politics down from the crudest comprehension of it. A large section of the reading public has still a tender regard for the teachings of Tolstoy, Carlyle, and Ruskin and others like them even though they could not do much practical work. Why should all these and many other efforts have worked and lived, when so many died ?

II.

The one thing of all others that must strike every one in connection with these efforts is that they changed and defined the attitude of man towards the world and things. They had no quarrel with things themselves. There was nothing wrong with them. The wrong, the originators of these movements, perceived with their sure, unfailing and keen penetration, lay beyond the mere superficial and apparent discontent with the world of things, with institutions, with customs, rites and rituals and such things. The evil lay in the point of view from which these things were regarded. The discontent which always precedes a reform movement, existed not because of any fundamental change in things themselves. The greater portion of the people had outgrown their earlier attitude towards things and ideas and could not hit upon any new feasible attitude. The great reformers, the Prophets, came and showed them the proper attitude they should bear towards the objects with which they were dissatisfied. They gave these things and ideas new values for the people. The one thing they did not do was that they never thought of destroying the then existing things, ideas, institutions, directly ignoring the prevailing attitude of the individuals to them. If they had done this, they would

have destroyed the very materials for human faith and human activity.

Here then we have both the proper spirit and the method of all reforms and efforts at reconstruction. As long as we fail to grasp this, as long as we go on hitting at things because we find we are not satisfied with them, as long as we are guided by the superficial discontent and try to allay it not by going to the cause that gives rise to it but by trying to reshape and remould the things, as long as we quarrel with the economic, the industrial, the moral, the social, the political and the religious worlds and not with the wrong attitude of the individual to these worlds, we are doomed to fail. Our energy and our time will be sacrificed for no good purpose. But if we begin at the other end, if we find the proper and the true values of things, if we define a new attitude to these things, we shall find that the things where we conceive the evil to lie, will right themselves. Even if the evil do lie there, this change of attitude will soon effect the cure of that evil, which no amount of hammering on these things directly by those who aim at reconstruction or no end of legislation will bring about.

This is the one supreme consideration with regard to the spirit of reform. *Our tendency at present is to disregard this most of all. The scientific and the economic evolutions in life during the last few centuries have done their best to make us disregard history, to misunderstand it, to misinterpret it, to lose the real idea, the real spirit that runs through it more or less predominantly or to write it in exclusively scientific or economic terms. The introduction of the idea of values, though not original on the part of the Moderns, but which was at any rate more emphasised by us and which gave a promise of effecting a change of mental and spiritual attitude for the better at the outset, has somehow or other failed us and landed us in the false pursuit of our salvation and our good by transforming all values, religious, moral, social,

æsthetic and physical, into the economic and physical. These values may not be all ultimate for aught we know, but the right proportion of them both in the life of the individual and that of society, tended to bring about a greater synthesis and a greater unification. Some intelligent people perceived this and tried to keep us on the right track. We, however, elated with our pride and vanity born of our economic and scientific advancement, forgot the lesson, lost sight of the right track, reverted once again to things, to the material world at the expense of the spiritual, and rushed if not headlong, at least with indiscriminate haste to possible ruin—the world-war. But Humanity is on the whole more powerful than its stray ideas and stray movements. The four years of grim and tragic experience have now undone the evils of a century or two, and we are realising once again that our business is not so much with the world of matter as with the world of men, the world of minds. In the West, in the medieval period, whenever they found anything wrong, they at once appealed to the Body of the Church which had lost the spirit by long disuse. They did not think of appealing to the attitude of the individual, the attitude of Love, which Christ had emphasised. That method did not work and had to be put aside by the work of the Renaissance and the Reformation. To-day, everything is referred to the State and its intervention is always sought. The individual and his true attitude to the world is again lost sight of, and we are realising what this practice of over-estimating the value of the State, of course the State as it is to-day based in most cases, on the sentiments of Nationalism, has brought us to. In this last mistake the East has all along been in agreement with the West, and we have no right to be proud of our inherent spirituality of nature, our ancient habit of always regarding things in the terms of spiritual values. A keen examination will reveal this vanishing of the spirit from the life of the East of to-day. The fact, however, remains that we in the East may, because

of our ancient inheritance, find it easier to revert to the true ideal of life. This, however, we can do only when we give up our sulking attitude and our spirit of aloofness, and if the West can bring itself to look upon the idea of inviting the East to share in any healthy effort of reconstructing and redistributing the forces of life of man, on terms of equality and comradeship, if not with cheerfulness at least not with the usual mingled feeling of pride, contempt and distrust, to begin with. Many more sacrifices, besides that of blood, are necessary on both sides, before we build up a new world out of the mess we have of the old one left to us.

III.

There is no greater selfishness, known to the psychologists, than that of those of our great men, who seem to take the world for their own, both as it is and as it is to be in the future. Why, even the past is theirs to make what they like out of it. They take upon themselves the responsibility of thinking for the whole human race, not even respecting the future, to say nothing of the past, because the greater the responsibility the more it tickles their vanity. We, most of us at any rate, hold them up as splendid examples of selflessness, not knowing all the time, that they are sacrificing only a lesser self, for a greater one which is more exacting. They exploit the past and in what they do in the present, they have not the least bit of an idea that, some day somebody will be wanting to change what they are doing at present. Their egotism is so profound that not for a moment would they stop and see that the things they are setting up, the institutions that they are founding, the traditions that they are building up, are not for all time and will have to be changed some day or other, when they become soulless and hence useless. Their imagination curved by their egotism cannot stretch so far as to see

what a deal of trouble, time, energy and real creative effort will have to be wasted, just to undo what they have been doing.

It is true, man has not yet reached the intellectual and spiritual level of existence, when anything more than the present and the immediate future can engage his attention for a long time. However, our own life at present must now teach us that very necessary lesson. Our debt and our duty to the past has always been misconceived. This is still more true of our duty to the future. With many of us the only way of showing our gratitude to the past, is still by holding fast to it, by suppressing any great creative effort and by imitating our ancestors in what they do. We must unlearn it all now and must see that the only way of showing our gratitude to the past is in understanding it, in finding out the true and powerful current of life that ran through the existence of the men of the past and its ultimate aim, in carrying on and not stopping with the work that they had begun, with the help of our own wider and richer consciousness and the greater and better means of work available to us, in putting not a dead crust around all that they achieved but by aiding it with the ever new, ever fresh element of life that is in every generation and ultimately in leaving as an inheritance to our future generation not a soulless, lifeless world of dogmas and institutions but a world of mind and spirit that is alive evermore.

Whenever there is any deadlock, whenever we find ourselves face to face with any great difficulty in our social life, in fact, whenever we feel called upon to work, our tendency at present is at once to look back, to find out something in the past that would take us out of our present situation and place us in a more comfortable one. Even now,

in this age, in this century, which is unworthily given the compliment of having created "new thought and new conceptions of life" history is our only treasure. We do not turn back and look upon history to show us the direction along which the new effort is to be made, to extricate ourselves from the difficulty, but only to take something out of it, divested of all its background, its beautiful surroundings, and try to rely upon it for our salvation. All the movements that are called new, revolutionary or by some such other name are in fact a mere imperfect copying of something in the past and therefore only reactionary. The newer or the more revolutionary they are, it may be taken for granted that they come out of a more distant past. What happens is that even by this imperfect mimicry of something in the past, some dead and ghost-like idea taken out of its bearings, we are momentarily relieved from the present pressing difficulties and we begin to congratulate ourselves on having hit upon the right thing to do a little prematurely. Soon, however, the new yoke feels as galling and as uncomfortable as the old one just escaped from and we once more try to exploit the past. To us for all our talk of the Philosophy of History, the past is still a sort of a treasure, a store-room, or worse still, a lumber-room and not a living whole. It is a past disjointed, maimed, a collection of many queer and incomprehensible things that we know, not a personality, an embodiment of spirit that is struggling to work itself out for its practical and objective realisation. No wonder then, that in such a state of affairs we look upon it, not as something that can guide us and can point our way out to us, but as something that we can draw our cheque on.

Next, as I observed before, we are as much mistaken in what we conceive to be our sense of duty to the future. The

same tenacity that we notice in our clinging to the past in the greater part of our life, is to be noticed in all that we do in the present, when through sheer force of circumstances we are brought to break with our immediate past. It is not that the truth of the fact that we have actually in our own times to make a tremendous sacrifice of lives, genius, time and so many other things, merely in our struggle of breaking with the past and before we actually succeed in doing something in the positive sense of the term, is not sufficiently known. We all feel it very intensely at some moment of our existence. But it is the lack of a wider sympathetic imagination and the presence of egotism that hinder us from extending that same knowledge and bringing it to bear upon all that we try to set up, with reference to the future. It never occurs to us that the future generations too, if we are not careful enough to guard against this at the very outset, will find it equally difficult to give vent to their creative impulses, having to give all their time and strength to getting over the conditions imposed by the past, just as much as we. We must not therefore float ideas that may afterwards prove more tyrannous than useful, establish institutions that may in the long run imprison the human spirit and suppress it rather than be a means for its working, create values that will make it impossible for those coming after us to supplant them by others if they find it necessary, originate traditions that will not preserve all that is good in the human activities, but tend to destroy it. We must once for all understand, however tragic it may be for some of us, that it is not ours to say the last word on human life and to put the last brick in the mansion for it. Everything from our human, work-a-day standards is provisional and we must generously accept that provisional character of the whole fabric of our system. Rigidity is the enemy of all progress. Let not our

work give evidence of rigidity and short-sighted finality. The greatest service that we can do to our children is to see that all our works are imbued with the spirit of elasticity and plasticity. It must be recognised now that it is for each generation to make up its mind as to the tone of its civilisation, culture and activity, in a word, its life. The generations preceding might guide it, inspire it, and comfort it if it seem to fail, but the decision and the choice must be with the generation in question itself. It is the greatest of all gifts we can give and the best—Liberty.

T. M. DESAI.

Baroda.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

**BRITAIN AND GREATER BRITAIN IN THE
XIXTH CENTURY.**—By Edward A. Hughes.
(Cambridge University Press.)

Mr. Hughes has written a useful volume upon the history of the British Empire in the 19th century. He takes this century as beginning in 1815 and as facing all the problems which arose out of the end of the Napoleonic wars. One of the most striking things about the history of this early part of the century is the number of parallels presented to the state of affairs at the present times. There were the same efforts at arrangements for co-operation between the Allies. Holy Alliances and Quadruple Alliances corresponded more or less closely to the present attempts to form a League of Nations, and there were the same rocks ahead. To what extent could the Allies interfere with the domestic concerns of one of their number? Should Italy be allowed to work out her own salvation even against the wishes of Austria? Should the Greeks be helped in their struggle against the Turks? It may easily be understood how Austria, Russia and the other Allies would a century ago take different views of these and other questions, and our author states the problems with great clearness and balance. Then he traces the gradual development of democratic principles throughout the 19th century and attempts to show the various phases of the industrial revolution. His sketches of individual statesmen are illuminating. He contrasts Palmerston's success in foreign policy with his comparative failure in home politics, and he cleverly sets over against each other the diverse characteristics of Disraeli and Gladstone.

The second part of the book is concerned with the development of the British Empire, and the most interesting

feature is the description of the transformation of the relations between Great Britain and her colonies during the last thirty or forty years. The earlier attitude—the attitude of the eighties—Mr. Hughes describes thus, “During this period Great Britain may be compared to a warm-hearted but crusty old squire, whose high-spirited sons feel that they are old enough to be their own masters and to go into the world to seek their fortunes. At one time the father would have tried to keep them under his control a little longer; but he has never forgotten the violent quarrel he had on this very subject with his eldest son. His determination to avoid the recurrence of such a scene, makes him yield with a readiness which his sons interpret as indifference to their welfare. They go their own way; they meet with difficulties; they learn from their mistakes; they achieve great things; but they rarely write home about their failure and their successes.” This is well put. And Mr. Hughes is equally skilful in tracing the development of a better spirit illustrating, to begin with perhaps, that “that sentiment and tradition still have power to stir men’s blood and shape their actions,” but expressing itself later in practical schemes for the permanent preservation of this unity, through improvement of the means of communication, commercial arrangements, imperial federation, etc. Mr. Hughes does not treat Indian problems with any great fullness, but what he says does not reveal a want of understanding.

SEPTEMBER.—By Frank Swinnerton. (Methuen’s Colonial Library.)

The title of this book suggests one of the rather vague ideas underlying the plot of this book. It is the late summer in a woman’s life. She has been finding her husband a little boring, as he is undoubtedly not up to her level, intellectually or spiritually. He consoles himself for his inability to appreciate his wife by making love to a pretty girl who happens to be in the neighbourhood. The “September” lady also finds relief in a passionate devotion to a youth much

younger than herself. There are no outwardly tragic results, however, as the husband gradually becomes more endurable, and the young man, who is on the whole rather callous, finds himself in love with the girl who had at an earlier stage in the story fascinated the commonplace husband. The book is dull reading, and the plot, if it can be called a plot, is overlaid with minute introspection. Moods and situations are analysed to the last detail. The preparations for a game of tennis, *e.g.*, are described with such minuteness that we expect to be told the number of games in each sett. With an effort interest in the characters might be aroused, but an effort is necessary. The main characters are too profoundly interested in themselves to be interesting to other people.

THE GOLDEN SCORPION.—By Sax Rohmer.
(Methuen's Colonial Library.)

This mixture of the conventional detective story with eastern mysticism and an uncanny development of scientific invention is exciting enough to occupy an hour or two of leisure. The book should not, however, be read just before going to bed, otherwise terrifying dreams are likely to be the result. The story is widely improbable. It is the necromancy of the middle ages brought down to the 20th century and deeds belonging to the mysterious streets of a far-eastern sea-port town are done on the banks of the London Thames. Still despite its improbabilities, the story is worth reading.

PERIODICALS.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—October, 1919.

The outstanding article in this number is by the Hon'ble Mr. J. W. Fortescue and is a virulent attack on Lord French. It is said that no man is ever "written down" except by

himself, and Mr. Fortescue has no doubt whatever that in publishing "1914" Lord French has written himself down. The Field Marshal is accused of all sorts of iniquity—of misrepresentation, jealousy and incapacity. It is alleged that "on the 26th Lord French and his staff completely lost their heads, and that in the vain endeavour to conceal this, he has taken leave of all sense of accuracy": and the book as a whole is described as one which should be studied "for warning against what is wrong rather than for instruction in what is right." It seems unfortunate that so violent an attack should be considered necessary. In other articles Mr. Arnold Wright gives an interesting account of the early haphazard history of Singapore, and Miss Austen Leigh writes on Jane Austen from a somewhat unusual point of view, laying emphasis upon her work as a moralist and declaring that a unity is given to all her books through their development of the idea of repentance. The anonymous article on Mesopotamia gives us much-needed information upon our latest imperial responsibility.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.—October, 1919.

Mr. Stephen Graham always writes interestingly on Russia, and the article with which he begins this number is no exception to the rule. It is pessimistic in tone, emphatic in its denunciation of the counter-revolutionists and also of the negative Bolsheviks, but seeing some gleams of hope in the idealistic elements in the Bolshevik creed. Mr. Brash analyses the secret of the fascination which the teaching of Christ had for the common people—that fascination which caused them "to hear him gladly." The George Eliot centenary is commemorated in an article in which the enthusiasm is decidedly restrained. Calcutta readers will be greatly attracted by Mr. Thompson's article on "Toru Dutt" in which he claims her as one of "the inheritors of unfulfilled renown." He regards her as "amazing in her combination

of intellect and knowledge and character," and sees in her an indication that there are no limits to the development of Bengali womanhood, were the disabilities removed. Toru Dutt's work was possible only because she was not a Hindu and did not lose the five years of childhood of which orthodox Hinduism deprives the girls of the country. The concluding pages of Mr. Thompson's article contain some plain speaking which is worthy of attention by those who prefer words to deeds.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

No. 300, APRIL 1920.

THE WOMEN OF INDIA—SOME CHARACTERISTICS.

BY ANNA ROSS MACIVOR.

IN a previous article in the *Calcutta Review*, Indian Women and Reform, it was argued that only a very insignificant minority of women in India could pretend to any fitness for the suffrage. An attempt will be made in this article to relate the general character of Indian women to its sources in her domestic and social status, and to indicate directions in which change seems inevitable and desirable. India is discovering, and vehemently announcing her discovery that what sufficed for the past will not suffice for the present and future. What has worked up till now will no longer work. This discovery is being made by those who give thought to the domestic, no less than by those who study the political problem, and they are convinced that for the women there is required a new education and a new discipline, a discipline not imposed from without, but working from within her own mind, and, above all, a healthy and gradually unfolding liberty in which her growing self-consciousness may have free play.

What has hitherto been in the main the position of women in the domestic, social and religious world of India? To arrive at a true understanding of this one must begin by clearing one's mind of certain presuppositions and deeply rooted convictions that are taken as axiomatic in the

west. Foremost among these is the belief in the worth and right of the individual to the fullest possible self-development. Our family, social, and political life is, to a great extent, built on this foundation. Not so is it in the east. This point is very clearly expressed by Professor Ramsay Muir in his introduction to Principal Gilchrist's book, *Indian Nationality*, as follows:—"Individuality does not command, and never has commanded, such respect in India as it does in the west. Self-suppression, not self-expression or self-development, is still as it has always been, the highest ideal of the best Indian minds: that is the real meaning of the statement that India is more spiritual than the west." Further on he says, "Individual initiative in which the western world puts its trust is in India restrained by a multitude of inhibitions."

The social unit in India is not the individual, but the family. For convenience at this point I shall speak of the customs of the great bulk of the population still unmodified by western influences. The individual is of value only so far as he holds sacred and advances the interest of the family: not the family in the narrow sense of one human pair and their offspring, but the patriarchal group in its main stem and branches: and not only its living representatives, but its dead ancestry. Not the least important part of a wedding ceremony, for instance, is that carried on with great care in both families concerned by the family priest, the symbolic feasting and propitiation of several generations of ancestors.

The emphasis in the patriarchal group is on father and son and son's son. Woman's place is therefore of only relative importance. Her function is to make possible by the bearing of sons the unbroken carrying on of the sacred family tradition. Her view from childhood is directed away from her own patriarchal group, in which she has little part to play, to the possible family tree on which she may be grafted when the time comes. The period of her

connection with the former is made as brief as possible. Her life only begins to have significance with her marriage into another family. She passes, or is passed rather, from the shelter of one roof tree to the shelter of another, and the passage takes place at an age when unquestioning acceptance of the fiat of her parents is natural. She finds herself in a position in which her happiness depends on her docility and submissiveness to her new relatives. Respect for authority and complaisance of temper have been the chief articles in all she has been taught. Just as she is trained physically to a noiseless gait, so that her coming and going in the house shall be as gentle as the fall of a leaf, so mentally she is broken into a habit of unobtrusiveness in order that she may settle without jar in her new place. In many families it takes much effort to propitiate, and win the good will of, highly touchy relatives-in-law. One has witnessed strange exhibitions of this touchiness at marriage ceremonies, and the bride's friends on such occasions have to adopt a bearing and manner so obsequious and humble as to be almost humiliating. Even the wedding invitations bear a general apology for any possible neglect of the proprieties, and the hosts and hostesses wear the garb of service. This has its beautiful and gracious aspect, but it is often accepted in anything but a gracious manner by the bridegroom's party who think it their right to find fault with their reception and entertainment. I have seen a little bride cowering with fear while her future relatives raged within earshot over some point of etiquette.

It is counted a sacred obligation for a parent to hand over his daughter from his own guardianship at an age when her immaculate virginity cannot be called in question. Exceptions to the marriage of girls at this early age are now frequent, but the change is modern and confined to the well-to-do classes. Her husband is not usually of an age to be considered her guardian, being himself still under authority. The young girl goes from one obedience to another, from

one set of rules and duties to another; but of both her acceptance must be unquestioning. Her plastic nature being still at the formative stage sets easily in the new mould. One sees, for instance, young wives leaving a spacious and affluent home for one of much less comfort (and it is not a case of "love in a cottage" for the girl still understands nothing of love), or, on the other hand, one sees her exchanging a narrow and even poverty-stricken home for one of wealth, with the unquestioning simplicity of a child. And these outward differences may be trivial compared with other deeper differences; but she takes them all as the inscrutable will of the powers that be.

In her new position of daughter-in-law she is left in no doubt as to her behaviour. She is a cog on the wheel fitting into a system almost mechanical in its precision. Her manners follow a code of rigid propriety according to which each senior member of the household has rights and honours which must duly be recognised. Strict precedence defines her place in the family. If she is the first wife of her generation, she has an importance second only to her mother-in-law, but quite subordinate as long as the latter is able to control her house. If she is a younger one in the group of daughters-in-law, she will be still more subordinate, and the feet of her seniors will be sacred to her. One sees the little wife 'take the dust' of the older ones' feet when she receives the vermilion mark of marriage on her head after daily hair dressing, a constant reminder of her subordination.

In her earlier days she is without authority and almost without responsibility in her husband's house and is, as a rule, silent, discreet, and timid in outward bearing, and a model of polite docility, at least in all households with any pretensions to good manners—and good manners are almost universal among Indian women even of the humble classes. Conformity to a recognised standard is what is expected of and enjoined on her from her infancy. It is only on the rare

occasions when she returns to her father's house that she escapes for a time from this exacting rule of conduct. While there her veil is thrown back showing the face still childish; her sobriety of bearing gives way to an expression of youthful animation; and when her child is born (the usual occasion for a prolonged visit to her mother), she has a brief spell of irresponsible motherhood when her baby is her plaything, her own mother taking the serious charge of it until she returns to the new dignity of "wife-mother" in her father-in-law's household.

Her life may pass in this manner until she reaches middle age. The exercise of her powers may be restricted to the control of her own children and a certain influence over her husband, if he is susceptible to her persuasions. But often he is so placed that for fear of his mother he must make as though his wife's opinion were of little account. If she is among the junior members of the home, and her seniors are long lived, she may never, even in her old age, enjoy any recognised authority beyond this. She is not mistress of a home as we understand the word and may be called and counted "little" wife-mother to the end of her days.

It is often said that behind the purdah the power of woman is supreme. But this, so far as it is true, applies chiefly to the women who happen to be the heads of the household. In any large family house these will be few in number and there will always be several others who have never had, and may never possess, any real power at all.

The individuality of the Indian wife is further narrowed by the fact that her husband, to whom she owes unquestioning obedience, is himself under authority if his father, uncles, and older brothers are living. His private preferences and opinions have to give way to the interest and general will of family and caste. In affairs his male seniors control his actions; in domestic matters his mother rules him. It is in this respect that Indian women really have power. An

Indian writer on the subject has said "One might almost say that the native states are ruled by the queen mothers from behind the purdah." But such power comes at a later stage in the woman's life story, if it comes at all, and is often exercised arbitrarily and sometimes mischievously just because the user has not had early training in the wise use of power.

What sort of character would one expect the Indian girl to develop in these circumstances? The ideas of personal freedom and independence of thought and action get little chance of growing. Neither the religion of the Indian woman, which is fatalistic, nor her social customs, encourage the free play of personality. She has to live and act in the interest of the joint household and to consult the wishes and prejudices of a whole host of relatives-in-law before deciding on a single course of action. When a western woman says, "I know my duty," she usually means that, after reflection, she has decided to carry out a purpose which she is inwardly convinced is right. Duty for an Indian woman is not so much a matter of personal conviction based on a principle of innate rightness as a recognised *dustoor*. "Why do you act so?" I have frequently asked. "We do it because it is our custom," is the almost invariable reply and neither reason nor explanation is forthcoming. "But you do not approve of it, so why not drop it?" I have remonstrated. "Ah, then our community would abuse us. Who am I that I should go against the general custom? Perhaps, if five others decided to do it, I might then have courage." The "five others" is after all in reality the idea of a general will as expressed by the *panchayat*.

The deep principle enunciated in the New Testament about one Jewish rule: "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath" has never been taken by India as a guide. "Laws were made for man and not man for laws": such an idea may possibly have a place in the

philosophy of the ancient books, but it is still very far from the average orthodox Indian mind and has scarcely dawned on the imagination of the Indian woman.

To this view of duty may perhaps be traced her ideas of education. Education for her does not mean a development of the mental faculties, reason, imagination, inventiveness, training of the mind to form its own judgments and act upon them; but, on the contrary, it is a training of the will to submission and an unquestioning acceptance of authority. As the wheels of a train are formed to move on a certain kind of rails so the Indian mind is trained to move on a strict line of conduct. Derailment often spells disaster in the one case as in the other.

It is plain from all this that the ideal of human development has differed greatly in east and west and has had widely differing results. The emphasis is on different possibilities of human character. Which line of development is the better or the most necessary for the world as at present constituted is still a matter of opinion. If India had remained where she was a hundred years ago, such a development in the direction of passivity and submission to authority might still have served her purpose; but she has changed in great degree her temper and attitude and is demanding freedom as it has been understood and practised by the nations of the west. For the uses of such freedom it is quite evident that a new type of character is required in woman no less than man.

This article is dealing with the matter from the woman's point of view, and with all due honour to the undeniable nobility of the best types of Hindu woman, one doubts if she is fitted to start on the perilous journey on which the nation is preparing to set forth. And yet she cannot be left behind. The right uses of freedom must be taught while she is still young. Every attempt to exercise compulsion on her from without gradually robs her of the power of using her own judgment and choice, and impairs the finer qualities of

personality. If she is handed about as a chattel when she is too young to protest, but not too young to feel the pangs of separation from the guardians and companions of her childhood; if the functions of wife and mother are ruthlessly demanded of her when these are not only not voluntarily or gladly performed but a source of fear, and sometimes of acute mental and physical pain to her, then there takes place a slow but certain damaging of those precious elements of human nature which in truly free peoples flower in strongly marked character and power, both in the individual and the race. If the races of India are lacking in certain of the stronger traits, may it not be because they have heedlessly destroyed these qualities at the springs in robbing their innocent girls of what should be gifted and never forcibly taken?

One finds the Indian woman, as one might expect from the experience her life has provided hitherto, meek and self-effacing, timid and polite, deferential to her seniors, ready to think other people wiser and more important than herself. The influences of her life have not tended to develop the stronger virtues, self-reliance, courage, self-control, the sense of responsibility, judgment, practical common-sense and dependability; but they have developed the gentler qualities, sometimes in a superb degree. In some respects the Indian woman is peerless, and one would grieve over any change that diminished her distinguishing graces. Her repose and dignity, gentle, womanly bearing and sweetness of manner, and the simplicity of her household ways, make her truly winsome and lovable. But though her manner are so much to be admired, and although manners are a part of character, they are not the whole of character, nor can they ever be a substitute for character. One sometimes finds oneself wishing that the people of India would display a little less suavity of manner and a little more undisguised force of character, though one is not ready to go such lengths as the peppery official who thrust a too obsequious Indian

visitor from his presence with the remark that he had no time to receive any "damned respects."

One is compelled almost reluctantly to form the opinion that the lack of certain marks of fine and strong character, resulting from her training, seriously disqualifies the Indian woman for the demands that a new age are certain to make on her. The strength of woman is sweetness, but the sweetness of woman is not always strength. Her position of subordination leads to want of serious purpose, idleness and waste of time, an inability to see things in their right proportions (a feminine weakness everywhere until corrected by education and training), lack of fearless rectitude, too much diplomacy, too much intrigue (intrigue is hateful to truly free persons), too much tendency to sacrifice principle in order to gain some private end and win favour with the powers that be, and an absorbing interest in much that is petty concerning food, personal adornment, and the tittle tattle and incessant bickerings of a large household.

The physical confinement and monotony of the Indian home lead to despondent spirits, sulks, jealousies, quarrels, hysterics, and other signs of emotional uncontrol traceable to physical causes. Ignorance results in narrow mental interests, superstitions and panics, and a general childishness in the women for which, however, they are more to be pitied than blamed. One cannot expect well balanced nerves without change of scene, fresh air and recreation, and of these the average Indian woman has a minimum. Statistical proof of the deadly results to mothers and children of this system of seclusion are not far to seek. The high rate of infant mortality at present attracting attention in several parts of India; the fact that in a city like Calcutta, where purdah is most strict, the mortality of women is 40 per cent. higher than that of men, and that the whole of the excess mortality amongst females occurs amongst young women in the prime of life, make any doubt on this matter impossible. In connection with one disease, tuberculosis, for which fresh

air is the only satisfactory treatment, we find that between the ages of 15 and 20 the death-rate among women is five times that of men. Such facts require no comment. They should be burnt into the conscience of every would-be reformer in India. There is another subtle danger in the life of Indian woman arising from the too great emphasis on her purely physical functions. This is apt to introduce a subtle atmosphere of animality into family life. Humanity in its noblest development has struggled bravely to spiritualise the relation of the sexes and to make of parentage the purest and most glorious responsibility that man and woman can take upon themselves. But such a view of it cannot be expected in the precocious parentage of a youth of sixteen and a girl of twelve. It reduces the mystery to something too common, too purely physical, and robs it of the sacramental character it bears for true lovers of maturer age. One has felt the absence of something vital to the most ideal view of family life in the overcrowded, overheated air of the zenana, and one has heard over and over again from the mothers frank expressions of disgust at the too frequent arrival of their children. Ideal love finds it hard to breathe in such a stifling atmosphere.

In contrast to this picture of a life hampered in so many ways by restrictions and inhibitions one can think of a western type of woman now becoming general whose heart is set on progress. *She believes in change and fears it not.* She believes that growth is necessary and possible and that there cannot be growth without change of the old safe and comfortable order. She is prepared to pay the price: discomfort, toil, misunderstanding, abuse, mockery. Gallantly she holds on her way, fighting if she must fight, stripping off the feminine charms she secretly loves, hardening her hands and roughening her skin, cutting off her hair and dispensing with draperies that cumber her if by so doing she can press on in her race, determined when she sees her goal to get there—and getting there. With the

spirit of her sister of the middle ages who shaved her head and put on the sombre dress of the nun, she, with an enthusiasm no less religious it may be, is willing even to disfigure herself if only to prove that woman's beauty is not her only, nor even her chief, power. For she claims—and this is the new gospel for many a woman—that over and above her greatest function, that of motherhood, she has powers which the world needs. Man, she says, has ruled the world a long time according to his own methods; but after all what a mess the world is still in! A little boy of six was heard last year contradicting a little girl who said the war was finished now. "The war is not finished," he said, "only the fighting. All the tidying up has to be done yet." He had visions no doubt of mimic warfare on the nursery floor and his mother's orders to clear up afterwards. Woman wants to tidy up the world. War, drink, disease, vice—can she not be allowed to try her hand at helping to sweep these away? Let me learn what there is to learn she says. Let me try my hand at everything and see if perchance I can accomplish it. Do not say I cannot until I have really tried and failed. Such is the temper of advanced western woman. Like the labour classes and the subject races who have been content to submit to others in the past, she is rising up and saying, "I do not care to be merely passive any longer." She may be right or she may be wrong. Time will tell, but that is her position. Her political power has increased by leaps and bounds, and now the destiny of India and of India's women rests to no small extent in the hands of this new factor, the woman voter of Britain.

In a recent article in *The Challenge* these words occur and they draw the contrast of east and west sharply enough, "Eastern woman is still at the stage of worshipping authority. She fears freedom as a bird bred in a cage fears the forest. She is content to be like Sita, the ideal of all pious Indians, to her husband, as the shadow to the substance. To her imagination to become independent, is

to become a castaway. Such is the all but universal attitude of Indian women. How much more honourable for a destitute woman of good family to depend on the alms of the pious than to earn her own living," said a dear old Brahmin lady to me the other day.

That blessed word "self-determination" does not enter into the Indian woman's view of life. Instead, certain other words control her mind and heart and these words are summed up under the sacred name of *dharma*.

Her life is determined from without and not from within just as, physically, it is circumscribed by the four walls of her home. The walls that surround her mind are caste, *karma*, that which is ordained, and custom; or in other words the will of her family and society, the mysterious forces that arise from her own deeds in previous births resulting in the incidents and tendencies of her present life, and "written on her forehead" at birth; and the practices of generations still rigidly adhered to and defining all her duties. All these things war against free thought, free action, and even dreams of liberty. We speak of the accident of birth. There is nothing accidental to the Hindu mind in the birth of any man or woman. He or she is born precisely in a certain caste or section of that caste because of actions committed in another life.

It is inevitable that caste, *karma* and belief in fate should bring into thought and action a rigidity that is foreign to the genius of freer races, and maintain customs, fashions and even ideas unchanged through hundreds of years. To break through customs so hoary becomes an act of fearful impiety and sacrilege, and is fraught with disaster and misery. Few have the courage to take such risks of unhappiness. An Indian of good family told me recently that during a stay in England he had become engaged to marry an Englishwoman. "What does your mother say?" I asked, knowing her to be a Brahmin and strictly orthodox. "She has cursed me with a thousand curses," he replied, "and I have left my home

altogether." He strove to be flippant and hard in his tone, but his eyes belied him. Here was tragedy for mother and son. He was indeed sorely perplexed and unhappy for a good Indian son reveres as well as loves his mother.

It is little wonder that new sects in India try to get rid of caste of which one authority has not feared to say that it is "the most disastrous and blighting of human institutions." Many Indian reformers hold that it makes social, political, and even religious change and improvement impossible. In the words of Rabindra Nath Tagore, "The regeneration of the Indian people to my mind depends perhaps solely upon the removal of this condition of caste." Women are the greatest sticklers for caste, as women everywhere are for social laws, yet they certainly cannot enjoy full freedom as long as they are bound by it.

Lack of forceful individuality is then one of the unquestionable results of the present condition of Indian women. Another result is resignation to things as they are and indifference and languor where social progress is concerned. If the conditions of our life are determined beforehand by *karma* and fate, acquiescence is the only reasonable attitude. This temper accounts for the lack of any real and sustained effort to overcome adverse circumstances. How futile it is to waste energy trying to alter what cannot be altered. There are many thorough-going fatalists in India. This explains why in epidemics of cholera, small-pox, etc., there is no real concerted effort on the part of the public to use means of prevention, or to destroy the disease. During a recent epidemic of small-pox I grew despairing and indignant as over and over again in the case of children who had died or been disfigured for life, I discovered that the simple precaution of vaccination had not been taken. In one house alone three children had died of the scourge from this neglect. Ignorance may be pled for the mothers, but the children had educated fathers; and even their mothers knew perfectly well that a cheap and easy

safeguard was there for everyone. The flimsiest excuses were made, but the real cause was just that feeble inertia which one cannot help tracing to fatalism. "Those who are going to get it will get it, and those who are not will not," was the contemptuous remark made by the mother of a child covered with small-pox scabs when she was politely asked by a woman doctor in my hearing to take her child away from a large gathering of children. Fatalism and superstition go hand in hand, and one finds prevalent among the women the idea that by trying to avoid disease by reasonable means you only excite the attention of the jealous gods and bring their anger upon yourself. So it is far more sensible to propitiate Sitala than to annoy her by getting vaccinated.

Fatalism leaves little room for hope, and where there is little hope there will be little effort. Is it to be wondered at then that Indians look dispirited and that the women are listless? It is unusual to see a look of vital joyousness and energy on an Indian face, and I believe it is because of this paralysing doctrine. A young Indian student lately returned from England told me that the look on the faces of his fellow countrymen, in contrast to the cheerful confidence of English faces, both men's and women's, made his heart sink in dismay. And yet he had been in England through the blackest period of the war when, if ever, the British might have looked despondent. Perhaps he blamed the Government in some vague way for this. I would trace this weary look to a low standard of health, and the low standard of health I would trace to the homes. It is women who keep their men folk in health, but the women far too readily accept the low standard for themselves and their children, with the result that strong, vigorous constitutions are not built up in boyhood and girlhood. Infant mortality, most of which is due to preventible causes, is accepted as a mysterious dispensation of the gods. A woman only twenty-five years old told me the other day that she was the mother of nine children. Of these five were dead, the rest ailing, and she herself a victim

to ill-health. She was a beautiful and well-made young woman and lived in a comfortable home. It seemed as if such a state of affairs must have been due to ignorance and neglect. I was struck by the almost callous way in which she spoke of these things, as if blow on blow had made her incapable of feeling any more.

In some of the finer natures this resignation takes the form of an almost noble stoicism, but more often the effect is enervation of mind and will, making the race as a whole submit, through sheer inertia, to the control of a racial will more energetic than its own.

The description I have tried to give above of the situation and resulting character of Indian women as a whole has, of course, striking exceptions, but they are still few—far too few to make any wide felt difference. When, however, to the example set by these exceptions, and the stimulating effect of new experiments are added the other forces slowly, but surely working, one may expect with some certainty that there will be great changes in the near future. If India had been kept in her former state of isolation from the rest of the world, many things might have continued without loss as they were. The task of governing might have been easier, and the solution of the problems that stare the Hindu householder in the face, especially the problem of his womenfolk and daughters, might have been postponed a century or two. But that was not possible. India is now linked inextricably with the rest of the world. Her fortunes are bound up with the civilizations of the west and the new civilizations growing up in the far east. She is wedged between old and new forces, and if she remains passive, she will be crushed. She can resist the outward pressure only by developing pressure from within, like the acorn whose growth splits the rock. Not violence, but growth is the sure way. It lies with Britain to help India, and every British woman her Indian sisters. If we do not strive to help, the end will be bitterness for them and shame for us.

There is not space here to analyse all the changes that are taking place, but it may be useful to examine these changes as they bear on the Indian woman. "Customs and laws which for centuries have proved equal to the ordinary demands of a people are now creaking, crashing, and falling to pieces like the spars of an old ship caught in a storm." This tragic image, used by a recent writer on India, is not too tragic as a description of much that is happening in the Indian home to-day.

It is significant of the changing conditions that one of the reasons why Indian mothers often wish their daughters to have some education is in order that they may be able to correspond with their husbands when the latter are absent from home. This points to the frequent separation of husband and wife: a feature of the modern upheaval of domestic life. How does such separation come about nowadays? The reasons are familiar enough. In the older days life in India was a village life with few exceptions. Families lived on their properties or small holdings of land and grew and increased there to the size of little clans. In the country towns and villages one still gets a very distinct picture of this old village life, self-sufficing and self-contained. But it is passing away. Everywhere one sees not only change but decay. The purely agricultural life which sustained the old communities is still there, but it is not enough to sustain them any longer. It is not necessary here to go into the complicated question of the causes of the change. It is enough for our purpose to realise that the altered state of things undeniably exists.

Since the family estate can no longer support the family, the sons have to leave home and seek employment, and, in consequence, these old houses where, under former conditions, the whole family resided in moderate prosperity, can no longer be kept up as they used to be. The younger sons go to the cities for education without which they cannot hope to get employment, leaving their wives and mothers, and

the older men to carry on a somewhat melancholy existence in the village home. Life in the cities gives them a distaste for the dead-alive existence of the malaria-infected mofussil. They get swallowed up by the official and commercial demands of the towns; or go to swell the abnormal crowd of attorneys and barristers who cluster round the courts; or follow the expansion and development of public works and industries along the rivers and railways as clerks, doctors, contractors, and so on.

A man cannot remain for ever separated from his wife and children, so, when she gets older she follows him. If he is making money, other members of the family will come to sponge on him, and at last the once comfortable, dignified country home is left to a few thin widows and old men who are driven from one corner to another as the brick and mortar crumble and there is no one left to repair the waste places, and no money for the purpose.

This new kind of life is giving the women as well as the men an entirely new outlook. They have escaped from much of the pressure of authority and are free as they have never been before. The man, more sophisticated and 'knowing,' if not wiser, than the last generation, is no longer greatly influenced by his elders. The wife, living alone it may be, in a rented house, cannot now leave the care of her domestic affairs and the management of her means in the hands of her seniors. She must begin while she is still young to be housekeeper and to control the family life. From observation I would say that the result, for want of training and practice, is often a dismal failure. Hindus have little idea how much better the educated English woman manages household control and expenditure, the idea being prevalent among them that education gives all women a contempt for household tasks and the care of children. The tidy and hygienic western home and healthy family is a sufficient answer, but few Indians have opportunities of observing the household ways of the western woman.

When the Indian wife returns to visit the family home she does not find it easy, after her comparative freedom, to submit in all things to her mother-in-law. Such submission was formerly the key to the Indian woman's character and it is easy to imagine what a transformation her new attitude is bringing about. Such transformations in Hindu family life are everywhere manifesting themselves in British India. Even when the joint family still lives on the same plot of ground, there is a marked tendency for the sons, on the death of their father, to divide the family property and break up the old house into separate dwellings. This division often gives rise to a bitterness of feeling that is the very reverse of the old Hindu family ideal of having all things in common. It also brings about hardship and distress for the members of the family, not making an income otherwise, whose portion of the joint inheritance is not adequate for the support of a decent style of living. This falls most heavily on the woman.

Another result of this break up of the family life is that the women are often lonely. They no longer have the chatter and gossip of a crowd of women relatives to make the time pass somehow. They are harassed by the greater strain of reduced means and find too burdensome the work of the house and the care of the children which can no longer be shared. And, being alone, they are obliged to think. Thinking reveals some of their own ignorance. Said a lonely woman in this position to me the other day, a woman of Brahmin caste and aristocratic connections who yet cannot spell the simplest words correctly, "You know what a fool I am. I do not know how to write to you or even how to speak to you or to anyone. I am a perfect donkey." There was an irresistible pathos in this confession, half humorously made. She wanted to act in connection with her own affairs and having no one to act for her, she felt utterly handicapped by her own ignorance. Such women wish to know many things. In the cities they meet other women

who have been to school and are much more enlightened than themselves. They determine that their daughters shall not be brought up as they have been, but in this laudable ambition they often get little encouragement. If the husband is sympathetic, the girls sometimes have a chance of education. But if he is too worried by the struggle for existence, the strain of the new mode of life, and the thought of the ever-dreaded marriage expenses, the state of the daughters may end by being even more pitiable than that of the mothers, for they will have to face a life of even greater strain under a disadvantage becoming always more severe.

Another matter that troubles the woman left alone with her husband is the knowledge that now he needs her companionship far more than formerly since he no longer has the society of brothers and cousins to make his home cheerful. She discovers that there are accomplished actresses in the theatres he visits, and that even the women of the streets cultivate their mental as well as their physical charms by learning to read and sing. Schools for Hindu girls often have to deal with applications for admission from the guardians of girls belonging to undesirable houses who, almost more than any class, at the present moment desire education.

All this makes for restlessness on the part of the helpless *purdahnashin*. She sees the dangers and embarrassments of her position, and recognises that it is no longer enough for a wife to be her husband's domestic slave, however devoted. She longs to be his companion and mate in a far truer sense.

Even a little education opens many windows in her mind through which she looks on the outer world and begins to learn what goes on there. She begins to compare her own life with that of the women of other races and to become dissatisfied with her position. Through the slats of her carriage, it may be, she watches happy Parsee and European mothers going about openly in the streets; and, whatever she may have been told to the contrary, her woman's instinct

tells her that these other women are good wives and mothers and that freedom is after all not an unnatural or dangerous state for woman any more than for man.

The present is a time of strain and stress for India and she needs help and sympathy sorely. The women especially need help. Some of that help must come from without, but most of it must come from within Indian society. India needs courage even more than sympathy and encouragement. A vigorous young Englishwoman driving through the streets of an Indian city for the first time on her arrival from Europe surprised the writer by the curious remark as she watched the crowds in the streets, "Poor souls, they look such babies!" There was nothing that was patronising in the remark, only sympathy for a race that, whatever the reason, looks pathetic. She proved her sympathy by years of medical work among the women of the south. "Do you still think them babies?" I asked some years afterwards. "Yes," she said, "they all need to be taken care of."

But that is not enough. Adults do not get their training in the nursery and India will not breed strong women in her inner courts. Indirectly, but none the less keenly, the women observe and feel the changes everywhere evident and they are simply bewildered. They have been taught to move on one strict line and they have no rule for the switchback of a transition time. Their ignorant attempts to adapt themselves to the new situation are often very touching and show how brave they are. I was once set to a curious task by a Hindu mother. Her son had returned from several years in London and was full of cheap ideas about his own superiority and cheap contempt for his own race and country. The parents who had sacrificed much to educate their boy were in great trouble. He threatened to shake the dust of this country for ever from his feet, no doubt because some of his countrymen were giving him the snubbing he required. His mother thought that if she could get him married he would settle down to the old life. But he

refused to consider marriage with a mere child and said he must have an educated wife of an age near his own. My task was to find out if such a girl existed among Brahmin families in the neighbourhood. It was touching to see his mother go against her dearest prejudices—she was old fashioned and orthodox—for the sake of her son and to find her willing even to take the help of a European in a matter so intimate.

Men, both in east and west, talk a great deal of gush about the domesticated woman and her superlative charm (usually the type of man wedded to his own creature comforts); but in the east just as much as in the west, a stupid and ignorant wife is often a source of irritation to her husband, be her cooking never so succulent. More than one Indian has confessed to me that companionship between him and his wife, in any mental sense is not possible as things are at present. It jarred on me the other day to hear a young barrister returned from England say with a smirk of amusement, "Of course my mother still worships the family idols and all that sort of thing." This cleavage between the men and women of India must not be allowed to continue for ever. The thought of the backwardness of their women, while it embarrasses educated Indian men especially when they see that their disqualifications are not innate but the result of ignorance, has yet not led to real and widespread effort to remove this reproach from the face of the country. If some of the energy expended in shouting about their mother country were expended on helping the daughters of the country it would show truer patriotism.

Young men throng to hear Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Bengali poetess. Part of her charm for them undoubtedly is that her work has been praised by western critics. They feel that what she has accomplished reinstates Indian womanhood in the eyes of the world. But they do not so readily admit that she might have been a mute, inglorious Sappho had it not been for a liberally-minded father who

gave her a freedom not possible for the orthodox. She had opportunities of travel in foreign lands and a prolonged school and university education, and her marriage was postponed until she had reached the age of nineteen.

Certainly a race that has produced women poets like Mrs. Naidu and Toru Dutt has no need to apologise for the intellectual quality of its women; but it has much need to bow its head in shame for the way in which it has starved keen and hungry minds. In a recent article in *The London Quarterly Review*, we find the following comments on Toru Dutt: "Had Toru been a Hindu the burdens of premature widowhood, probably of premature motherhood, would have made her story impossible. As regards its girls, the Bengali people loses at least five years of childhood, and the loss is one for which nothing can offer any shadow of compensation. When I made this comment to Bengal's greatest poet, he replied: 'I quite agree with you, and it is the saddest thing in our lives.' And first of all the many things that must be done and sought, this elementary justice must be rendered, and woman be free to expand and find herself. Then Toru Dutt, in her greatness of soul and her greatness of mind, will no more be a solitary and astounding phenomenon, but the firstborn star in a heaven of many lights."

Within the last few years we have witnessed how in the west more and more woman has become a citizen on almost equal terms with man. The end is not yet and we do not know where these great changes will lead, but already they are profound and have brought to pass a state of things such as the world has never beheld and scarcely dreamed of. The future is crowded with possibilities both of good and evil. A cultivated Englishman recently said to me: "All this emancipation of woman terrifies me. Where is it going to end?" He said it half playfully, yet the words express a fear that must come to us all at times, because human beings naturally shrink from change. But my own belief is that all

the holy beauty that has gathered round the name of mother will in time become a halo round the name of woman, not as mother only, though always chiefly, nor as beloved mistress, though romance will not die because woman is free, but as the gentler half of the human race who can bring into social and national life and the wider life of humanity all that passion of tender service that she has lavished on home and husband and children. Service will not cease to be the religion of all good women but will find an ever-widening scope in the need of the world to which at last she has been given access.

ANNA ROSS MACIVOR.

SIR JOHN WOODROFFE ON INDIAN CULTURE.

BY A. K. JAMESON, I. C. S.

UNDER the somewhat startling title of "Is India Civilized?" Sir John Woodroffe, late a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, published in November 1918 a series of essays dealing with the main features of Indian culture (the word has acquired unfortunate associations but there is no exact equivalent). Sir John being an authority respected more particularly amongst the educated Indians, the first edition of the little book was quickly exhausted and a second called for as early as May 1919. It may therefore be not unprofitable to consider the nature of the exposition which has evidently commended itself so favourably to Indian opinion. In form the book is a reply to criticisms brought against Indian civilization by Mr. William Archer in "India and the Future," but it contains much more than a mere refutation of other peoples' views; it is a constructive effort to set out what the author believes to be the essence of all that is distinctively Indian. Before dealing with it, however, it may be as well to state definitely that we hold no brief for Mr. Archer, whose pronouncements, whatever amount of truth they may contain, suffer from that confident dogmatism and violence of statement which so often afflict those who write about matters Indian—whether favourably or the reverse—on the strength of a very superficial acquaintance.

The chief object of the book, then, is in the author's own words, "to state summarily and correctly the main principles of Indian civilization." Emphasis is laid strongly on the correctness, for it is asserted that Mr. Archer's criticisms are based on a distorted conception of what those principles really are, and that they lose their force when confronted

with a true statement. There is, however, a subsidiary object in the mind of the author, namely, "to explain the general cause of the attacks which have so constantly been made upon" Indian civilization, and a large part of the book is taken up with analysing this cause. He divides it into three branches, racial, religious, and political, and carries it back right to the very constitution of the universe, exhibiting it as a secular example of the struggle of Spirit, the sole ultimate reality, to organize the matter in which it has involved itself into finer and finer forms, until at last it releases itself from the trammels altogether. In the lower stages of this process conflict is not only inevitable but beneficial, for it tends to the evolution of ever more complete modes of expression of Spirit, the better thrusting out the inferior, until a point is reached where competition may be replaced by co-operation. The fact that the proximate motive of the individual persons or races engaged in the struggle is in the main self-regarding, and that they are for the most part unaware of the *rôle* they are playing as vehicles of the evolving Spirit, does not alter the beneficial character of the process, because Spirit can work through unconscious or even rebellious agents to accomplish its great purpose. But when man in the course of his development has attained to a stage where he is conscious of the process but is not yet sufficiently advanced to adopt the ultimate ideal of co-operation, he begins to clothe his naked political selfishness with apparent altruisms, and pretends that when powerful nations strive to crush alien cultures they are impelled by the solemn duty of raising the ruled to the cultural level of the rulers. This the author brands as objectionable hypocrisy, and it is of this that he accuses

Mr. Archer and all who make similar attacks on Indian culture, a hypocrisy which leads them to traduce and belittle it in order to justify an attempt at eliminating it altogether by pretending that it is so hopelessly and fundamentally bad as to be intolerable in a world which aims at progress. The

real motive, however, according to the author, is simply the fear that if an alien culture should be acknowledged to have worth and be allowed to strengthen and propagate itself, the culture of the critic's own country might be in danger of being swamped or altered out of recognition. This is asserted in respect not only to the intellectual, artistic, and political elements in culture, but also to the religious. As we said above we are not concerned to defend Mr. Archer, but the allegations which the author makes against European missionaries in this connection cannot be altogether passed over in silence. He asserts that they have identified Christianity absolutely with the institutional form which it has developed in Europe, that they are simply units in the army which aims at the total destruction of Indian culture from purely selfish motives, and equally concerned with the others to impose European culture in its totality on India regardless of the real meaning of their religion. The reason, he gives is that they are afraid that, if simply the principles of Christianity are presented to Indians and they are allowed to interpret them and to build up an organization in accordance with the inherited traditions and bent of mind of India, the resultant form may cease to be a useful instrument in the maintenance of European supremacy. In so asserting he is surely guilty of the very sin of misrepresentation of which he accuses Mr. Archer; but we shall return later on to his attitude towards Christianity in general.

It has been said that Mr. Archer's attack is of the most comprehensive nature, directed against every branch of Indian culture, and a considerable section of it is devoted to Indian art in its widest sense, including architecture, sculpture, painting, and music. The reply, however, dismisses all this in a couple of sentences. "These comparisons in matters of taste seem to serve no useful purpose. Let each mind feed upon what it likes best, and do not let ourselves intrude on the peace of its enjoyment." This is simply to abandon all attempt at finding a standard of value, and in any case it

hardly does justice to Mr. Archer's position. For he grounds his criticism on an examination of the philosophical basis on which the admirers of these elements in Indian culture rest their support of them. In fact here, more than in most other parts of his book, Mr. Archer satisfies Sir John Woodroffe's constant plea for going back to first principles, a course which he alleges to be unfamiliar to western critics. The line which Mr. Archer takes is that the approbation of Indian art so freely lavished by critics of the school of Mr. Havell and Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy depends on certain presuppositions which properly speaking do not belong to the artistic sphere at all but to what he calls the "theologico-philosophical," and that it forms part of the claim to spirituality as the sole basis of Indian culture as against the material, or at best mixed spiritual-material, basis of European culture. He denies the validity of the claim, and as a strong supporter of it Sir John Woodroffe might have been expected to join issue with Mr. Archer on the point; had he done so it would have been interesting to see his method of dealing with it.

In fact, however, Sir John Woodroffe confines himself to the religious and philosophical branch of the attack, recognizing, in our opinion rightly, that "Religion is the most important element in culture." In estimating the worth of a culture one cannot go far wrong in devoting the largest share of attention to its religious aspects, including therein not merely the metaphysical or theological grounds but also the results of these in actual practice—an important addition as we shall see later on. For in the ultimate analysis all other branches of culture depend on the view which man takes of his place and purpose in the universe; for according to that view all his other activities are moulded. We may be grateful to Sir John Woodroffe for his resolute insistence on this fundamental principle, too often overlooked in an age when more superficial aspects of human existence attract greater attention than at any previous stage of history, and this whether

we accept or reject his application of it to the facts he seeks to elucidate. But first, in order to answer the question propounded in his book "Is India Civilized?" it is necessary to define what is meant by Civilization. The definition which is given is strictly in accordance with the point of view indicated above and is worth quoting in full. "The vital progressive impulse of which we are conscious is the impulse of Life to so organize itself that it may become a more and more perfect vehicle of Spirit. This impulse it is which organizes matter into gradually ascending forms, and which, when man is reached, works in him to effect his spiritual development. True Civilization is a process which has the same end. It may and does produce some material comfort but this is not an end in itself, but when rightly employed a means whereby man's mental and spiritual nature is given greater play on its increasing release from the animal cares of life. That then is true Civilization which, recognizing God as its beginning and its end, organizes men in society through their material and mental vehicles with the view to the manifestation of Spirit in its forms as true morality and true religion." This is well put and affords an adequate basis for the discussion. But obviously much, in fact everything, turns on the interpretation to be put on the words "true religion." That is to say, a true religion being alone capable of manifesting Spirit, an organization which purports to manifest Spirit through a religion which is not true, cannot be a true Civilization.

Turning then to the author's exposition of religion, we find that, true to his pursuit of first principles, he begins with a definition of religion. "In its most fundamental sense Religion is the recognition that the world is an Order or Cosmos of which each man is a part and to which he stands in a definitely established relation; together with action based on and consistent with such recognition and in harmony with the whole cosmic activity." It may be objected that in his endeavour to make it as comprehensive as possible he has

leaned unduly to the side of vagueness. Such a definition would, for instance, not exclude the attitude of mind of the scientist of the school of Herbert Spencer, and though it may be conceded that such an attitude is in a sense religious, there is little to be gained by expanding a term which has a definite connotation in its application to the vast majority of mankind in order not to exclude a small group who would be perfectly content to have their tenets described as philosophy instead of religion. For to all except the unqualified non-dualists of the school of Sankara religion has reference to a personal being, and even in India there are other authoritative teachers besides Sankara. Applying, however, this conception to the religion of India, he finds that it consists of certain fundamental ideas the chief of which is Dharma or Cosmic Order conceived as inherent and manifested by all beings, that, in fact, which constitutes them what they are. The root of all activities is desire which seeks for itself the fruit of its actions and thus manifests itself in action or Karma, which may be either in accordance with Dharma or opposed to it, the former leading to happiness and the latter to suffering either in this birth or in subsequent births the conditions of which are determined solely by the nature of the previous Karma. Both forms of action bind the soul to the world of forms, but escape from that world to the eternal bliss of the unchanging formless world of pure Spirit may be attained by the practice of morality, by spiritual discipline, and by direct knowledge of the Real as opposed to the unreal and transitory of which alone the senses give cognizance.

The phrase "religion of India" has been used because the author himself uses it throughout. He is, of course, not unaware that many have held it to be a misnomer on account of the almost infinite diversity of both belief and practice which appears to characterize the religious life of India. And indeed while justifying it on the ground that the outline given above embraces the fundamental conceptions of every apparent variety and that there is thus

a spiritual unity at the back of them all, he is still compelled to admit that even in relation to these basic concepts there are real differences of opinion, as for example the identity or otherwise of the individual and the supreme Spirit. He, however, minimises these in asserting that they do not affect the question of the worth of Indian civilization because, whichever of the opinions may be held, all alike possess great value. He himself writes from the standpoint of the Shakta school whose tenets are to be found in the Tāntras, and he is satisfied that its principles afford the most wonderful synthesis of the rival claims of the World and the Spirit. It may be doubted whether the followers of the better known and what are generally considered more orthodox systems of the Vedānta would be quite so willing as he is to admit the equal value of the two interpretations. One had an idea gathered from the works not only of European but also of Indian expositors of Indian religion that the Tāntrik systems were looked at askance, and that their pretensions to affiliation with the Vedas were at least somewhat doubtful. And this idea is certainly not lessened by a perusal of the reviews of Sir John Woodroffe's own work "*Principles of Tantra*" (written under the pen name of Arthur Avalon) copious extracts from which are appended to it. The general impression left is that the Tāntras have been systematically neglected and misunderstood by all the best known and most competent interpreters of Hindu religion of whatever school until Sir John Woodroffe rescued them from oblivion and established their claim to legitimacy as exponents of the true Vedānta. His answer to this probably would be that the disrepute into which they had fallen—a fact which admits of no doubt—was due to attention being rivetted on certain objectionable practices which had sprung up among the followers of the school due to an incorrect interpretation of its principles, and that when the latter are studied impartially and only such practices are observed as are really sanctioned by them, this prejudice

will disappear. Of the practical aspect we shall have something to say presently; but even granting his contention it may be considered somewhat doubtful whether a system which is so open to misconstruction as to have in fact been habitually misconstrued for centuries by all the leaders of Indian thought has any just claim to pose as an authoritative exposition of that thought.

The system in brief may be expressed thus. The Universe is a manifestation of the Power (Shakti) of the Supreme Consciousness or Self which is theologically called Shiva, and in His aspect of manifestation is known as the Great Devi or Divine Mother. The two are twin aspects of the One, being respectively, in the language of western theology, the Transcendent and the Immanent. Spirit involves Itself in matter and then gradually evolves Itself therefrom, and thus, though of Its own nature blissful, yet as and through man It suffers and enjoys. Man, who is spirit, mind, and body, is divine, and that not only as spirit but also as mind and body; for these are manifestations of the Divine Power (Shakti) there being no other. "There is no need to throw one's eyes into the heavens to find God or Shiva. Man as spirit is God. Man as mind and body is the Power (Shakti) of God. Man is thus God and His Power. . . To those who have this outlook on life every physical function and thought is a religious rite. . . There is no need to renounce anything except ill-thinking and ill-doing which bring ill-fruit. For what can man renounce when all things and beings are seen to be the Mother?" It would indeed be difficult to reconcile this, especially the tenet of the divinity of mind and body, with the true Vedāntic doctrine of the illusory nature of everything phenomenal, but we are not concerned here to adjust the differences between various schools of thought. What we set out to consider was the nature of this particular defence offered against the attacks made on Indian religion as the essential element in Indian civilization, and for this purpose

it is immaterial whether the statement of that religion is strictly on orthodox lines or not; for the defence is one which, right or wrong, has been accepted as valid by many of the educated classes. The danger, however, is obvious in such teaching that the qualification in the way of renunciation of ill-thinking and ill-doing may be forgotten or ignored, especially when the necessity for it is based not on a moral imperative nor on the nature of the power that is worshipped but simply on the ground that its neglect may result in misfortune. Probably the shadow under which the system lies is due to such neglect having been frequent in practice.

All that has been said hitherto deals with the philosophic bases of Indian religion and so far no mention has been made of its actual practices. The author indeed in his Foreword acknowledges that India is no exception to the general experience of the difference between ideals and facts, and he lays it down as essential that the facts should first be accurately known, then the true principles studied and the extent to which they have failed of realisation, when finally a decision can be arrived at as to the nature and extent of the changes that may be necessary. In the body of the book, however, there is remarkably little attempt to carry out this programme. From beginning to end there is not a word to indicate the nature of the organization which exists for carrying the tenets of religion into practice, nor how far it succeeds in translating ideals into facts. Yet surely this is a most vitally important subject for consideration. According to his own definition of Civilization already quoted an *organization* for the manifestation of Spirit in its form as true religion is an essential part of it, and indeed it is obvious that, in judging of the worth of any civilization as an instrument for human progress and not merely as an idea, its power of realising itself through its fallible human vehicles is a matter of the greatest moment. The most perfect system of belief which

it is possible for man to conceive, while it may be fit for eulogy as a product of abstract thought, has value for progress only in so far as it is effective in securing the manifestation of Spirit in the lives and conduct of the human beings who accept it. If this view is correct it was surely incumbent on the author to indicate, even if briefly, how far the organization for practical religion of the Tāntrik school of which he is an adherent is adequate for the realisation of its ideal, or, if that would have unduly swelled the contents of his essays, he might have referred the student to other works where the practical aspects of Tāntra are to be found. He himself has written several of these, under the pen name of Arthur Avalon, from which the curious may learn whether the description given of the system by Dayānand Saraswati, founder of the Aryā Samāj—a name not unhonoured among the modern champions of Hindu civilization—is or is not justified. It appears from these other works of the author that the system is one which cannot be properly estimated without a very profound investigation on account of the great difference between the apparent and the real meaning of its rites, one in fact in which without esoteric knowledge the follower would be apt to go far astray. As such its value as an instrument in raising to a high spiritual level the ordinary man who has neither the time nor the capacity to acquire such knowledge is perhaps questionable. Such a restriction of the benefits of the system to an élite would, however, perhaps not be considered a drawback by an author who offers for our consolation the thought that, "Men are not yet Man. Some have been and are so. The rest are still candidates for Humanity."

But even where the author does profess to estimate the practical results of Indian beliefs he does not always come into real contact with actualities. This is strikingly illustrated by his treatment of the doctrine of Karma. After a brief exposition of what he considers to be its main features he sums it up in the words, "So far then from

Karma being fatalistic it is the doctrine according to which man is the master of his destiny." Whatever may be said *for this as the meaning of the doctrine for philosophy, it is gravely misleading as an indication of the results it produces in Indian conduct.* There can be no doubt that to the vast majority of Indians it does in fact produce a fatalistic attitude towards life, a view which is held not only by Mr. Archer but by almost the entire assemblage of European observers, who surely cannot all be accused of blindness and prejudice, and it is amply confirmed by the every-day experience of those who have to deal with the average Indian in daily life.

The same tendency is noticeable in his treatment of caste. There is a certain disingenuousness in his statement that there are to-day practically only two main castes, the Brahman and the Sudra, and that sub-castes have arisen in the latter according to occupation, as though the facts were in any way altered by calling them sub-castes and endeavouring to minimise the degree of exclusiveness of these; nor is it in the least degree correct to attribute, as the author does, the untouchableness of the Pariah to the fact that he is physically unclean. His whole treatment of this subject is vitiated by his theory that the modern developments of caste can all be traced back ultimately to an origin in difference of colour and the desire to keep the Aryan blood free from contamination. This is, of course, the orthodox Brahman theory, but one had thought that the labours of a host of investigators, Indian as well as European, had finally proved the inadequacy of this facile explanation for an enormously complicated system. One observes, however, in several places a curious lack of appreciation of the results of such labours, which appear to rank for the author as not much superior in validity to the onslaughts of Mr. Archer. It is, for example, somewhat late in the day to maintain that a purely Aryan culture existed uncontaminated by any aboriginal elements until

Buddhism broke down the rigid exclusiveness of caste. If modern historical research has proved one thing more clearly than another it is that caste in a rigid form did not begin to exist until long after Buddhism had reached its zenith and that it was in fact the Brahmanical revival in the early centuries of our era that saw the hardening of caste rules. But indeed it is hardly possible to expect any very exact recital of fact from an author who avers that in dealing with India he has in mind "not any soiled or hybrid developments of the time but the principles of the civilization of old India—India of the Hindus." For in spite of modern investigation into pre-Muhammadan India it cannot be said that we possess as yet anything approaching a detailed and accurate picture of the actualities of those times, which at a conservative estimate extended over two thousand years. We are still dependent in the main on a literature whose purpose was not that of historical record but rather the presentation of what its authors considered the State ought to aim at, which, even when not written with a partisan purpose to exalt a particular class, is didactic rather than descriptive. Until we are able to check its statements by reference to contemporary records of a different sort it is much as though we derived our knowledge of Greek life solely from works like Aristotle's *Politics*. Where such check is capable of application, as for instance from the early literature of Buddhism, it is frequently found that ideas hitherto accepted as correct have to undergo considerable modification; instances may be found in Rhys Davids' "Buddhist India," to name only one example. Such being the case it is obviously not difficult to present a picture of India beneath the sway of uncontaminated Hindu ideals which may for all we can say bear remarkably little resemblance to fact.

While one may question the value of a defence of Indian civilization framed on the lines indicated, one would not need to cavil at it so long as the method were consistently applied

throughout. But this is not the case in Sir John Woodroffe's book. The author disclaims any intention of estimating the relative value from an abstract point of view of Indian and European cultures, or more particularly of the two vital elements in them, Hindu and Christian religion. The book, however, being in form at least a reply to an assertion of the absolute superiority of the one culture over the other, it was almost inevitable that, in so far as the form was adhered to, comparisons should emerge even if incidentally; and in fact they do emerge constantly. But the disclaimer of making any formal comparison has led to a result which can scarcely be regarded as fair to the European side of the question. On the one hand the author's intention of stating "summarily and correctly the main principles of Indian civilization" enables him to present it as an ordered system dependent on certain fundamental ideas which he analyses at some length, whereas on the other hand he is precluded by the restrictions he has imposed on his work from doing the same for European civilization. In consequence when reference is made to that civilization it is in the form of isolated facts, taken for the most part from modern developments of European conditions, which are stated without any attempt to consider whether they are truly representative of the underlying philosophical basis of the system or are abuses not sanctioned by it. Set over against the completed picture of Indian civilization both theoretical and practical, with all the high lights on the theoretical aspect, they naturally appear at a disadvantage. In all fairness it might be demanded that if Indian civilization is to be considered as an expression of the "Racial Soul," "which is not to be confounded with any of its products," the same criterion should have been applied to European civilization in so far as it comes under reference.

There are many instances throughout the book of this presentation of isolated facts, not indeed with the definite statement that they are typical of the Christian attitude to life, but in such a context as to lead those who are not well

acquainted with Christian thought and practice to infer that they are typical. What justification, for example, is there for selecting an incident from an American paper in which a clergyman is said to have exhorted his hearers to "hammer the face off the Germans," and to have expressed a desire to be able to tell his God, "I gave the Germans at least one good wallop before I shuffled off?" Would Sir John Woodroffe approve of a critic of Hinduism who cited as typical of its tenets "the ears of a Sudra who hears the Vedas are to be filled with molten lead and lac," an injunction which occurs in Manu, a much more authoritative exponent of the Hindu spirit than the anonymous American clergyman is of the Christian. Or again the sneer at missionaries because of their alleged fondness for converting Mukhyopadyaya into Muggins on baptism is surely somewhat cheap, even if the alleged fact is true, which one takes leave to doubt. It may, unfortunately, be true that on certain occasions missionary effort has been used as a cloak for commercial gain, though one would have liked the author to give specific instances of it which he does not do; but to deduce from this the sweeping proposition that in modern days the Christian religion has been turned into a means of money-making and Empire-building is to assert what is simply not true. The author would have done well in these instances to remember his own dictum, which he freely applies in dealing with things Indian, "We must distinguish between ideals and the human channels by which they are given expression," and to have given Europe the benefit of it as well.

But even admitting that these crudities are not characteristic of the argument as a whole, the defects of the method are equally serious though not so glaring in other connections. Take, for example, the oft repeated assertion that India's special contribution to the progress of the race lies in the essential spirituality of her civilization. To begin with it would have been well if the author had applied his demand for first principles to the definition of the term

“spirituality.” In itself the term is colourless and the value of the conception depends absolutely on the nature of the spirit which is posited. It is not inconsistent with an extremely low level of culture, for all savages are intensely spiritual in the sense that they have an ever-present consciousness of the existence of non-material powers affecting their life for good or ill and guiding all things. The difference between such savages and those higher in the scale consists entirely in the quality of those powers. It has been asserted in derogation of India’s claim to occupy a high place that her conception of them is for the mass of her population low and inadequate. We do not say that this view is correct; all we desire to point out is that the mere assertion of the spirituality of India’s culture is not conclusive as to its place in the scale without further definition. But granting that her spirituality is of the highest quality conceivable, the question still remains, is it in fact the leading characteristic of her culture? to such an extent, that is to say, as to justify the broad distinction drawn between the spiritual east and the material west. It is not implied, of course, by this phrase that every individual in India is engrossed in the contemplation of the spiritual world to the exclusion of material interests, nor that the reverse applies to Europe; one speaks merely of the “leading motive and determining power” governing the general attitude of the two races. Even accepting this restricted application of the phrase it would still not be difficult to point to facts which render the justification doubtful. One may suppose that the spirit of a nation finds its most adequate expression in the leaders of its thought and that their writings and speeches afford a criterion by which that spirit may be judged. On this supposition the insistence of practically all the prominent men of the present day in India on the vital necessity of the development of industry, of the spread of an education whose main object is to foster the practical capabilities of the race, of allowing—nay

compelling—the people to busy themselves with the secular government of their country and to pay attention to problems of sanitation and medicine, becomes hard to reconcile with the theory of spirituality. It is not contended that the leaders entirely neglect the other aspect of things, but in the form which the author has chosen to give to the question it is one of “leading motives,” and it can hardly be said with truth that the development of spirituality is the “leading motive” of the modern Indian public man. Sir John Woodroffe would have an answer ready for this objection at once. “This emphasis on the material,” he would say, “is a modern development due largely to the evil influence of the west; it is not the legitimate expression of the true Indian spirit, but an ephemeral morbid growth which will be sloughed off when India returns to its ancient faith, and the due proportion between material and spiritual will once more be exhibited.” We have no intention of deciding which point of view is the more correct; let us take it that India’s claims to spirituality are established in full. Our point is that if Christianity and the civilization founded on it are examined in the same spirit of getting down to essentials which has been applied to Hinduism and Indian civilization, the sharpness of the contrast between the two in this respect would be largely blunted. The mode of presentation of the facts cited about European civilization, and such phrases as “India alone up to now has refused to surrender the worshipped Godhead and to bow the knee to the reigning idols of rationalism and commercialism” cannot but produce the inference either that Christianity is of such a nature as to lead to and justify the coarsest materialism, or that it is so devoid of power as to be unable to influence the actions of those who accept its tenets. In either case the result would be its condemnation as a spiritual force. No impartial critic can possibly hold the former alternative as true; the point needs no labouring for the high spiritual nature of Christ’s teaching is as freely

admitted by Indians who have studied it as by Europeans, and Sir John Woodroffe himself elsewhere makes passing reference to the fact, though he fails to bring it out clearly. He apparently accepts the second alternative in asserting that the worship of purely material progress is the leading motive in Europe at the present day, which worship, he grants, is not in accordance with the precepts of Christ. But do the facts really support this view? Surely the events of the last six years are the best answer. Nothing in the war was more remarkable than the spontaneity with which the entire population of the allied nations rose to defend the spiritual principles of right and justice and mercy to the weak against the challenge of a power which had rejected Christianity as an outworn creed and proclaimed a return to the ideals of the old Teutonic gods of brute force. It is not that Christianity failed in Germany, but her rulers deliberately turned away from it in the belief that the ends they proposed for her would be better served by a different creed. The victory of the allies, a victory admittedly due largely to moral forces, shows that Germany was wrong, that Christianity is still more potent as an inspiration to self-sacrifice than a stark materialism however powerful; and the peace which has followed, whatever its faults may be, has at least been marked by an earnest endeavour to carry into practice a high idealism. Perhaps Sir John Woodroffe in bringing his indictment against European materialism was thinking of the period immediately preceding the war when worldly comfort did seem to be the ideal of the majority. To a superficial observer it might have seemed justified, yet for those who held that even then a higher ideal had not been altogether lost, the war has come as a vindication. The Racial Soul of Christian Europe may have been clouded over by forces alien to it, but it has repelled them and has proved its claim to be based ultimately on something higher than mere materialism.

A final example of Sir John Woodroffe's method of argument may be given; it is one which is not peculiar to

himself, but occurs frequently in the writings of those who uphold the claims of eastern as against western civilization. Throughout the book numerous statements are made of fundamental dogmas of Hindu religion. These may be accepted as correct, but they are open to this criticism that they appear in such a context as to lead one to believe that they are the exclusive property of that religion and find no place in Christianity. Yet on examination many of these will be found to be every whit as strongly emphasised in Christian teaching as in Hindu. The Gita, for instance, has surely no monopoly in teaching that we are all parts of a great Divine Order making for the fuller realisation of Spirit and that it behoves us to take up our position therein and fulfil our part in the Divine purpose without vulgar animal hatred, without "desire for personal gain, but selflessly as soldiers in the human hosts of the Lord," or that self-sacrifice is the supreme law which should govern our relations with our fellow men. "To do good to others is the highest religion," is a sentiment with which a Christian may well agree and to present it as the peculiar glory of Indian thought, not to do justice to a religion which declares "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" to be one of its chief commandments. Nor can one say that Hinduism stands alone in holding that, "as between the soul and its material environment the former is of primary importance." In one of his concluding pages Sir John Woodroffe sums up the essentials of Indian religion as follows:—"India has taught that the Universe is in its ultimate ground Spirit; that what is material is the expression of the Eternal Spirit in time and space; that Man is essentially either that self-same Spirit, or a part of, or akin to, it; that the Universe is governed by a just Law which is the very nature of its true expression; that all Life is sacred; that Morality is the law of humanity which is the master of its destiny and reaps only what it has sown; that the Universe has a moral purpose and that the Social

Structure must be so ordered as to subserve it." As an exposition of part at least, though not the most important part, of Christian thought this might be accepted with few changes and it is simply grotesque to put it forward as though it were an achievement of Indian thought alone. Sir John Woodroffe has probably been too busy editing and translating the Tāntras to pay much attention to modern works of Christian theology; had he done so, however, it might have saved him from stating that according to Christian ideas God is something "merely extra-cosmic," who has "arbitrarily produced and governed the Cosmos," and he might also have learned that the conception of God as at once Transcendent and Immanent is not to be found only in the Tāntras.

We must emphasise that the author cannot plead that he is not guilty of misrepresenting Christianity on the ground that he does not represent it at all. When an author gives as a portrayal of Hindu religion a full and careful examination of all that is best in its theory with only slight reference to its practice and, while refraining from any similar ordered view of Christianity, allows himself to make frequent citations of isolated facts all of which tend to produce an unfavourable impression of the conduct of professedly Christian people, it is idle to pretend that such a procedure does not result in a distorted view of Christianity. Sir John Woodroffe as a former Judge of the High Court has no doubt often applied the doctrine that a man is liable for the reasonable consequences of his acts whether he deliberately intends precisely those consequences or not, and he can hardly object to being judged by the maxims he applies to others. Our contention is that in fact his method must and does result in producing a totally wrong idea of the essential qualities and value of western civilization in the minds of those who are not in a position to supply the necessary corrective to the one-sided arguments employed from their own knowledge. It is not

so much his facts to which we object—though we are far from accepting all his statements as accurate—as to the mode of presentation of them, which is such as to create an atmosphere of prejudice against the system of which they are taken as examples, although in many cases they are not in the least typical of it. We have no desire to assert that Sir John Woodroffe intended any such result, but we regard it as most unfortunate that one whose words carry so much weight among Indians should, while maintaining a powerful plea for justice to India, have so written as in effect to deny that justice to Europe. Much of what is written at the present time in defence of India's culture is to a western mind somewhat alien in form and expression, and it loses effect by a tendency to indiscriminate eulogy. The value of a work such as the one under consideration is that it presents clearly and without extravagance the outline of the arguments on which such a defence must be based if it is to convince one who comes to the subject without any presuppositions in its favour. The value would, however, have been much increased had the author confined himself more rigidly to the point he set out to prove, namely the intrinsic worth of Indian culture. For this purpose references to European culture were not absolutely necessary and they should either have been omitted altogether, or if they were thought desirable they should have been to essential principles and not to superficial aspects. Dealt with in such a manner the studies in this book would have afforded surer ground on which to build up that synthesis of all that is best in the two cultures which is Sir John Woodroffe's ideal as it must be that of every right-thinking man.

A. K. JAMESON.

Malda.

THE AGE FACTOR IN CRIME.

BY JOHN MULVANY.

IN view of the present activity in prison matters no apology is offered for discussing so neglected a subject as the relationship of age to crime. That age, or rather immaturity, has an important bearing, not only on the character of the offence, but also on the future career of the offender, is a fact which has long been well known to all interested in social work, except perhaps to those most directly concerned. Witness the struggles of the pioneers of reformatory and industrial schools—of probation and indeterminism, against reactionary conservatism. When Macaulay's *New Zealander* comes to moralise upon the prison systems of the past, the fact which will probably appear to him most inexplicable, will be, how the penal machinery of the 19th and 20th centuries was used, in pursuit of a retributory ideal, to manufacture the criminals to whom it owed its existence. And this is a fact which, even now, is struggling for recognition.

Of recent years, thanks largely to the now exploded absurdities of the Lombrosian school, a good deal of attention has been paid to the statistical study of crime and criminals. And many facts which formerly were considered to be the unproved hypotheses of enthusiasts, have acquired a scientific and unassailable basis. Not only has it been clearly demonstrated that habitual crime is largely the direct outcome of our archaic penal system, but the whole theory of retributive punishment for crime has been arraigned as unpractical, irrational, grossly unequal, and grossly unjust. I am here only concerned with age in its ætiological relation to crime, a subject to which Dr. Goring¹

¹ *The English Convict*. Charles Goring. M.D., B.Sc., 1913.

has paid considerable attention. Dealing with star-class convicts, or first convictions for serious crime, Goring has shown that the intensity of selection by age is at no time of life very great, and he invites attention to the remarkable fact of "*how little*, the age distribution of star-class convicts, and particularly those of incendiaries and fraudulents, differ from the age distribution of the general community. But turning from star-class convicts to recidivists, *i.e.*, to those convicts who are habitual criminals—we find (he says) in the age distribution at first offence of this class of offender, a totally different account."² His results are abstracted in Figure 1, in which the statistics of the ages of convicts at first conviction, are represented diagrammatically, in a series of rectangles, the heights of which are proportional to the numbers of individuals in each quinquennial period. The thick black line represents the corresponding age frequencies in the general population. If age did not influence criminality the two curves would be identical. But as Goring points out "the sequence of age frequencies of habituals, from 15 and onwards, unlike those of star-class convicts, bear no resemblance whatever to the distribution of age in the general population. The mean age of (English) habituals at first conviction is 22 years, and the mean of the general population is 37 years. ...in short habitual convicts, in regard to their ages at first conviction, are highly differentiated from, and form a most stringently selected section of the general population."

He then proceeds to emphasise "the orderly regression of the age-frequencies of habituals and the absence of irregularities," in their curve of age frequency, from which facts he concludes that these age frequencies do obey natural laws of frequency and that "determining the criminal's fate, there must be a number of natural and inevitable, as opposed to conscious and artificial, influences at work, of such a kind that his selection by age occurs in an orderly and predicable

² *Ibid.*, p. 208.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

Fig. 1—The ages of the General Population of males over 15 years, and the ages of Habitual Criminals (convicts) at first conviction. Frequencies per cent. of each.

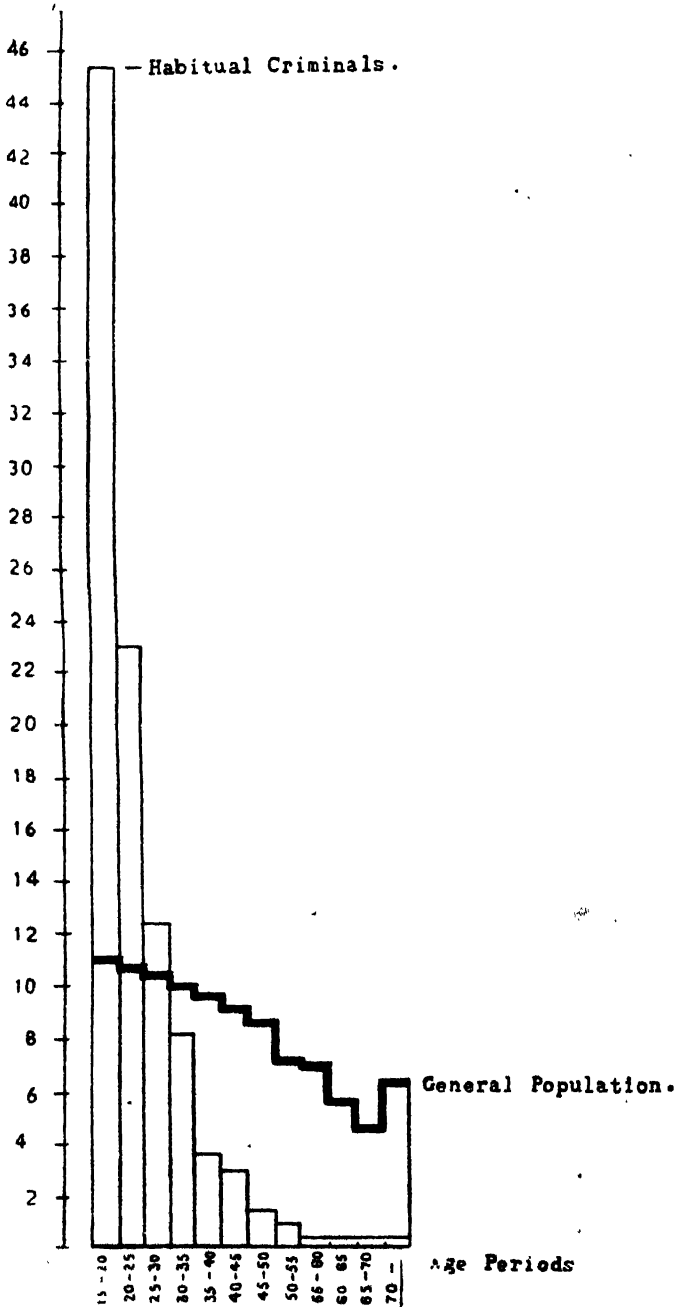


Fig. 2.—Comparing the ages of males.

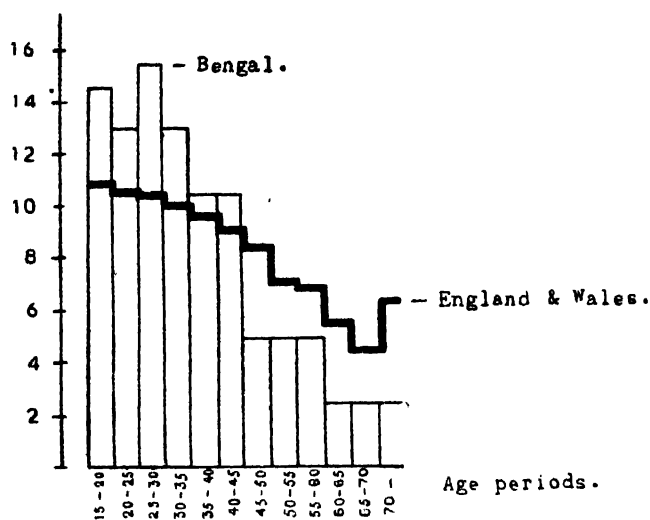
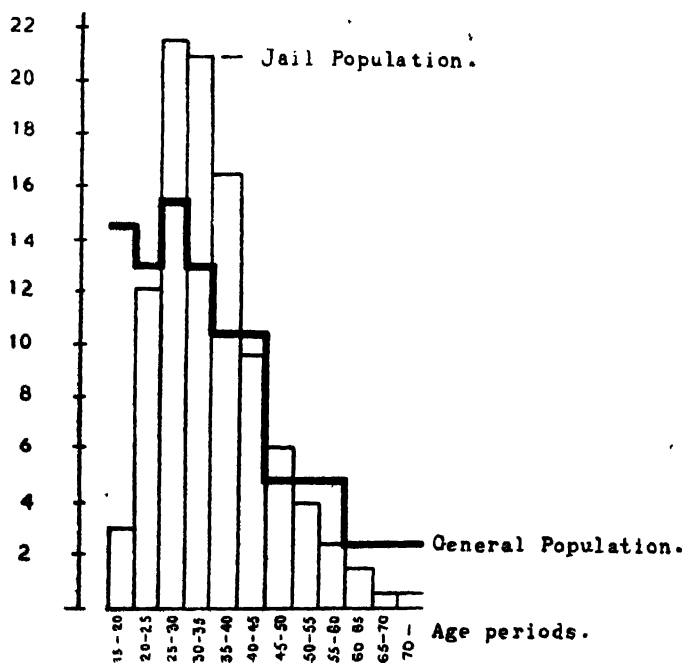


Fig. 3.—The Ages of the General Population of Bengal, of males over 15 years, and the Ages of the convicted jail population of Bengal. Frequencies per cent. of each.



way... Assuming, then, existence of variability in criminal proclivity—assuming the existence of social and anti-social predispositions, variable among individuals, but possessed to some degree by all people, it should not be surprising that more than half of habituals give evidence of their own peculiar anti-social proclivities before the age of 25.” And later he says “the earlier in life our convicts were first convicted, the more frequently have they been subsequently convicted; and, on the whole, the longer have been their periods of imprisonment.”

Professor Liszt, working on similar lines, deduced three probabilities, from his study of criminal statistics:—

- (1) the probability that anyone will commit a crime is greater if he has already been punished than if he had never been punished;
- (2) the probability that anyone will commit a crime increases with the number of punishments he has already undergone; and
- (3) the probability that a man who is released from punishment will commit a new crime in the shortest possible time, increases with the length of sentence he has undergone.

The value of fuller knowledge of the ætiology of crime lies in the fact that we are now in a position to apply it to the suppression or, at least, to the diminution of crime. A study of Figure 1, proves conclusively that whatever the influences may be which first set the English recidivist's feet on the pathway of crime, they certainly operate most successfully between the ages of 15 and 20, and thence onwards with regularly diminishing intensity. And, accepting Liszt's probabilities, we must admit that judicial punishment tends, not to reform, but rather to confirm the criminal in his career of crime. In other words, it is clear, on statistical evidence, that the manufacture of habitual criminals is the handiwork of our penal systems. On the other hand, if criminals are reformable (and the last Prisons

Congress, 1910, affirmed that "no person, no matter what his age or past record, should be assumed to be incapable of improvement"), reformatory influences should act most beneficially at the ages when anti-social proclivities are most active, *viz.*, between the ages of 15 and 20, to a lesser extent between the ages of 20 and 25, and so on with diminishing intensity, in other words, when the mind is plastic and the body immature good influences should act as strongly in one direction as evil influences act in the other.

But if, from financial or other reasons, we are compelled to restrict reformatory influence, we should certainly endeavour to include within the sphere of our efforts all whose ages conduce positively towards the commission of crime, *i.e.*, all whose ages, in Figure 1, soar above the thick curve of the general population. In England, therefore, it seems unquestionable that reformatory endeavour should at least embrace all criminals under 30—certainly all under 25 years of age.

But though the path of progress, in the West, seems quite clearly indicated, it does not necessarily follow that the same principles can be applied, without modification, to India, where the population is younger,³ and where urban and other influences act less strongly. Indian official statistics relating to the ages of criminals are worthless. The periods classified are four only, *viz.*, under 16; 16-40; 40-60 and above 60, whereas, to be of any use, it is essential that they should embrace quinquennial periods, or, at least, correspond with the periods of the census classification. And, in view, of the fact that the limit of eligibility for admission to reformatory schools was lowered in 1897, the first period should be 15 to 20.

A further difficulty is that few Indians know their exact age, and, though, in the main, the average age statistics may be fairly accurate, yet there is undoubtedly room for grave error, as would appear from the low figures recorded

³ The mean age of India is 24·7, against 37 in England and Wales.

for the quinquennial period 20-25. Where this period is lower, in Bengal, than in the preceding periods by 1·4 and 2·5 respectively. But taking the census figures as they stand, and comparing them with those of England and Wales, it is at once apparent how much younger the population of Bengal is.

Being desirous of examining Bengal statistics in the light of English results, and realizing how difficult it would be to obtain reliable figures corresponding to those on which Figure 1 is based, I took an age census of the convicts in the Alipore Jail, and later, with the kind permission of Sir Walter Buchanan, of the whole province. The results are given in the following Table, and are abstracted in diagram form in Figure 3.

TABLE showing the actual numbers of convicted prisoners, in the Jails of Bengal (excluding Subsidiary Jails), on 7th May 1918, according to class (A—casuals; B—habituals), and age period; also the frequencies per cent. of each class compared with the general population of Bengal, of males over 15 years.

Age.	Actual Numbers			Frequencies per cent.			
	A. Class.	B. Class.	Total.	A. Class.	B. Class.	Total.	General Population.
15-20	257	177	434	3·3	2·8	3·1	14·6
20-25	1,015	693	1,708	13·1	11·0	12·2	13·2
25-30	1,723	1,329	3,052	22·3	21·2	21·7	15·7
30-35	1,605	1,342	2,947	20·8	21·4	21·0	13·2
35-40	1,248	1,085	2,333	16·1	17·3	16·6	13·0
40-45	702	651	1,353	9·1	10·4	9·6	
45-50	457	414	871	5·9	6·6	6·2	5·0
50-55	315	267	582	4·1	4·1	4·1	
55-60	201	149	350	2·6	2·4	2·5	2·5
60-65	128	103	231	1·6	1·6	1·6	
65-70	39	38	77	0·5	0·6	0·5	0·9
70-	40	35	75	0·5	0·6	0·5	
	7 730	6,283	14,013	99·9	100·0	99·9	99·7

The first thing to be noted is that the A. class, or casual criminals (who form over 75 per cent. of committals) are only 23 per cent. in excess of the B. class or habituals. This

can be explained by the fact that habituals receive longer sentences. The next fact is the very close approximation of the age frequencies of the two classes to each other, and their marked divergence from the age frequencies of the general population. And this fact, so far as the A. class is concerned, and so far as the figures lend themselves to inferences, does not seem to bear out Goring's conclusions with regard to first offenders, though, of course, his statistics relate only to serious crime, while these include all crimes. Again comparing the age frequencies of the jail population with those of the general population, we find that, contrary to English experience, and certainly contrary to expectation, that (so far as these figures are concerned) the age period of greatest criminality is 25-35, and to a lesser degree, 35-40. On the other hand the age period 15-20, which is so closely associated with criminality in England, is, in Bengal, comparatively free from crime. To my mind these statistics suggest that it would be a grave mistake to copy the English Borstal model and concentrate reformatory efforts on the age period 16-21, or, as it now is, 16-23, especially in the light of the history of the movement in Great Britain. In America, where the idea originated or, at least, matured, efforts are concentrated on the age period 16-30. In Bengal this period might, with advantage, in suitable cases, be extended to 35, in view of the lessons taught by the statistics. By concentrating our efforts on the small numbers of the age period 15-20, we merely touch the fringe of the question. If we are to make any real impression on recidivism, the large class of adolescents must emphatically receive more attention. And here the fallacy of the age limit is apparent. It is not the period of youth, as measured by age, that is dangerous, but the period of immaturity. Many persons of say 23 or 24 are as immature as lads of 17 or 18, and *vice versa*. And the mixing of the mature and immature in our congregate prisons is fraught with the gravest evil. In my experience, the first secret of successful

management (and therefore of reformation) is the complete segregation of the immature, independent of age, from the mature. Space does not permit me to dwell upon this important point, but I may say that it is mainly a question of sex, and involves the problem which has brought compulsory congregate living into so much disrepute. If, in every association jail, the immature (and the incorrigible) could be completely segregated, the management of the remainder—the great majority—would be comparatively simple. Whilst, therefore, we are waiting for the inevitable advent of the indeterminate sentence and the almost complete abolition of the term sentence, it seems to me that our efforts should be concentrated on the immature, irrespective of age; that the age of admission to reformatory schools should be raised; that the age of admission to and discharge from Borstal Institutions should similarly be raised, in suitable cases, to 35; that an adequate after-care association should be formed; and that conditional liberation, on the American *parole-system* should be introduced.

JOHN MULVANY.

RUSSIA—MONGOLIA—CHINA.

BY JOHN F. BADDELEY

*with facsimile maps and original Russian texts. Macmillan
& Co., London, 1919.*

A CRITIQUE BY DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

IT is an irony of literary and historical circumstance that at the moment when Russia has gone out of the Imperial business—if not altogether at least for a long time—Mr. Baddeley, who has known that country so well and who has followed in the track of her chief envoys to China, should produce his monumental and remarkable work on the long sustained and finally successful efforts of her Tsars to absorb Siberia, and then, but not so successfully, to secure a predominance over China which aimed at bringing the Russian sway down to the Pacific. It is a romantic and varied story, told in vivid language by the actors themselves for the most part with the author figuring as a lively and erudite cicerone to rude Cossacks and even to that subtle intellectual Greek Spathary who figures among all these illiterate Russians like a Triton among minnows. The task was laborious, but the author has evidently found it a labour of love; otherwise he would never have accomplished an achievement that is to be measured by close on a million words. The well-pointed and pertinent notes, the formidable array of authorities, reveal the reading and research of a lifetime, and leave the reader in doubt as to which is the more valuable, the original text or the modern additions and suggestions always helpful and informing—so that perhaps the only conclusion possible is that taken together they form a complete and harmonious whole.

Among all the feats of conquest recorded in the world's history that of Siberia by Russia must rank as the easiest accomplished. This was due no doubt to the absence of competitors, and to the general indifference towards a region cut off by climate and nature from human intercourse; but Mr. Baddeley gives us another and a weightier reason. The adoption of Buddhism by the Mongols in the 16th century had turned the warriors who had overrun Europe and Asia in the 13th century, who had tyrannised over Russia herself for two centuries longer, into men of peace and prayer. The breed of Genghis became extinct; the grand Lamas and the Khutuktas inculcated the principle that blood should not be shed and that men's time should be passed in turning prayer wheels. They could not eliminate the consequence of their trust in human perfection. The door was opened to the foreign invader, and it was only the other day, when seemingly on the eve of fresh acquisitions, that Russia's progress was arrested by the downfall of her Tsars. The Mongols are a lettered people. We are told that they have considerable libraries and are great readers. It may be wondered whether recent events will make them draw a new moral from the past and change their old views and policy.

But the story before us relates to the past, not the present, nor the future. It may be said to begin with the first manifestation of the Western reaction against the Eastern encroachment of Hun and Mongol that had gone on for a thousand years—a reaction which had no nobler incentive than the pursuit of furs, as Mr. Baddeley puts it in his introductory poem,

That took the Rus on plunder bent
Hot-foot across a Continent.

It was the quest of the sable's golden fleece that sent the young men of Novgorod a-plundering at the expense of those primitive Samoyeds who were the originals of the

anthropophagi of Herodotus. If they had only plundered they could have cited many notable examples in their favour. But they had a nasty and reprehensible system—a sort of Bolshevism. When the unfortunate natives did not provide the expected quota of skins, they cut the throats of the men and sentenced their women and children to be slaves. This sort of thing went on for 200 years, and as there was no lack of furs of all kinds, the Russian advance into Asia was slow and measured. By keeping to the northern region they avoided the barrier imposed by the Kirghiz hordes.

And then as the 16th century was drawing towards a close there appeared on the scene a new character, and with him a new impulse set in. Yermak, the Cossack ataman of the Volga, was no mere fur-hunter. He had the instinct of a conqueror. With a band of “dare-devils all” he reached and crossed the Irtysh. He proclaimed the Tsar “Lord of all Siber,” and in return received a suit of armour which adds an Arthurian touch to the Siberian Legend.

Even at the moment of his triumph Yermak fell. Let Mr. Baddeley tell the story—

“But when summer had come and gone, when winter was at hand, Yermak heavy at heart turned back to rejoin his companions. The journey was begun by water, but the boats, caught half-way by the ice, had to be abandoned and the journey finished on foot. At Sibir during his absence all had changed for the worse. Koltso, his ablest lieutenant, with forty companions had fallen a victim to native “treachery”—what was laudable ruse in a Russian was, of course, the vilest treachery in a native. Mikhailoff hurrying to help him had likewise been killed with many of his men. Yermak on arrival did what he could to improve the position and prepared to pass another winter. But Yermak found his position intolerable and to improve it whether by negotiation or fighting had to make all possible use of the open water. Sailing therefore and rowing up the Irtysh he is said to have reached a point not far from the

present town of Tara, with what precise object does not appear. He then turned back and when nearing the mouth of the Vagai received information that a caravan from Bokhara with goods from Sibir had been stopped on the Ishim steppes by Kuchum. It was a simple enough trick, but it answered its purpose. Yermak turned up the Vagai and made his way to the point where the caravan track crossed that river. Having waited some days in vain the Russian leader started back and at the river mouth bivouacked on shore apparently without any precaution. The night was dark and rainy—it was the 6th August 1585—and the Cossacks were asleep when the enemy fell upon them in overwhelming numbers. Yermak alone reached the river's brink and leaped for a boat—but missed his footing, fell into the water, and encumbered by his armour sank.....

“Yermak dead became to Tartars and Mongols a miracle worker and saint; to the ruder tribes of Siberia, Ostiaks and others, even as the bear they first kill and then worship, a God. When his body was dragged from the Irtysh river the hero was known by the armour he wore, a hauberk or coat of chain mail, brass hemmed and emblazoned with the two headed eagle, the fatal gift of the Tsar. The news went flying to Kuchum and his sons; they arrived to find after many days a body untouched by corruption. With the points of their arrows they pierced the flesh, it bled like that of a living man. Then, filled with awe, they buried Yermak by the river brink at the foot of a pine, and made all present swear that never in any circumstances would they reveal the spot to the Russians. After this for a while by night columns of fire stood over the place, to dwindle in course of years to corpse lights visible to none but natives. With earth from the grave sick men were made whole, rich booty secured on raiding ventures, and after two generations Prince Ablai, the Kalmuk chief, begged and obtained Yermak's mail coat from Tsar Alexei's representative, assured that in it he would fight and conquer the Kazak horde no matter what the odds.”

The later story of Yermak's armour must not detain us, even if Prince Ablai found it a shirt of Nessus. The reader will find it fully set forth at page 160 of Mr. Baddeley's second volume. For us the real lesson of Yermak's career seems to be that whereas before his time the Russians expected the tribes to bring them, as tribute, skins and furs in sufficient quantities for all their needs, they, fired by his example, decided thenceforth to absorb the region, and to make all the tribes and races their subjects, and, not to mince words, their slaves.

In the execution of this programme the Russians were first brought face to face with two considerable native potentates, one known as Bogatir and the other as the Altin Khan. The former was chief of the Kalmuks, and after some preliminary communications Petroff, a Lithuanian prisoner of war, and Kunitsin, a Cossack, were sent in the year 1616 to bring him to allegiance so that he might become the Tsar's subject. The mission was fairly successful, at least they brought back Bogatir's delegates, but a still more successful consequence of their visit was that Russia learnt that beyond Bogatir's territory lay the dominion of a greater potentate called the Altin Khan, who was, in his turn, the neighbour of China. The Altin Khan, or the Golden Tsar as the Russians dubbed him, was the next approached. An envoy named Tumenets was sent with certain presents to discover this prince and his headquarters, as nothing precise was known about either, and eventually he did discover him near Ubsa Nor, but the Altin Khan had no fixed capital, for he nomadised over a vast region. As Tumenets put it "the camping grounds in the Altin Tsar's territory are frequent—almost without interruption—and the population numerous." The first duty of these envoys was to extol the power of their sovereign. He was "Lord Tsar and Grand Prince, Autocrat of all Russia," and his style was swelled by every petty acquisition. It was necessary to do this because, as they could neither read nor write, they could not have furnished

details. All they could do was to roll off the list of their sovereign's titles, committed to memory, and to declare that they were the ambassadors of the Great White Tsar. At all events the Altin Khan was sufficiently impressed to give them audience in "the mosque of the Khutukta." The Russians then knew no difference between Mahomedans and Buddhists, hence the general use of the word mosque for temple.

In form at least the mission was a complete success. The Altin Tsar after many formalities declared that "he could well agree to serve so mighty a sovereign." But Tumenets did more than this. He brought back news of China; here are some of the items of his intelligence—"The Chinese capital lay at the head of a gulf of the sea; the city built of bricks being so huge that it took ten days to ride round it on horseback, and in the midst of the city a great river. It was a month's journey from the Altin Tsar to China. The Chinese used *pishchali* and cannon, and to China big ships came sailing over the sea with many kinds of valuable goods, but from what countries these ships came they did not say. Chinese goods were as follows: satins, velvets, silks. They made gold work too in China and bring gold and silver on to the capital from the provinces. Much grain is grown, wheat, barley, oats, and millet. The Chinese wear all sorts of clothes, fashioned like those of Bukhara, of velvet and satin, silk and cloth."

All this description would apply more or less to the China of to-day. Thus before the 17th century was very old, Russia had got into touch with China by what the maritime nations called her back door. But nothing was really known about the political situation, or of China's pretensions. The Russians seem to have looked upon her as if she would accept her vassalage as easily as the Altin Khan had pledged himself to do. It is not surprising that the information brought by these rude envoys, little as it was, whetted the appetite of the Moscow Government for more. It was known that Dutch,

Portuguese, and English were seeking China or Cathay by the long sea-route which required more than a year, and here was Russia her very neighbour with no visible rivals! It looked like a monopoly, and weak peoples always cling to the ideal of a monopoly. Even in those days the Russians feared the English. When Thomas Mericke asked in 1617 for permission for English merchants to go by the Volga to Persia and also "to seek a way by the Ob to India and China," he was refused, because the Russians said among themselves "the English are richer and stronger, they and we would never agree in anything." But there was another and a stronger reason, the Russians flattered themselves that they had the control of inner China within their grasp, and that they would outstrip all competitors.

Such was the hope that inspired the dispatch in 1618 of the first Russian Mission to China under Petlin and Mundoff. At that time the Ming, a purely Chinese, dynasty, still held the sway in China, although the Manchu encroachment had begun which ended in its downfall. Petlin's deposition, for he could not write himself, is full of interest. He described the Krim or Great Wall, a journey of three months and more from Tobolsk, and how he reached the great Chinese capital, Peking, and was lodged in the Embassy compound. In a few days Tsar Taibin, who was really the Emperor Wanleh or Van-li, sent a secretary to ask "what they had come to China for?" They replied that they had been sent by their sovereign to see the Chinese Tsar, but they had not been provided with any gifts, so they were sent back whence they came without an audience. They were, however, given a letter to which of course the Russian translator gave the most flattering form for his own master. It read—

"Van-li Chinese Tsar, two men arrived out of Russia and, Van-li Chinese Tsar said to those Russian people, come and trade, then go away and come again. In the whole world thou a Great Lord and I not a small one; let the road

between us be clear 'up and down' to go by and do you (Russians) bring the best you have, and I in return will make you presents of good silk-stuffs, and you will journey back; and if you come again, and with you people from the Great Lord, bringing me a letter from him, I will send him a letter in return. And when letters come from you, I will order that they be received with the greatest honour, and the people with them; but I cannot send any ambassadors to your Great Lord for the way is long, and they know not the language; but I now address my homage to you, Great Lord, and beg him (*sic*) to believe that were it possible I would send my ambassadors, but by my custom, O Tsar, I neither leave my own kingdom nor allow my ambassadors or merchants to do so."

Very soon after the Petlin mission the Emperor Wanleh died, and this event was followed by the downfall of the Mings which culminated in the proclamation of the Manchu Emperor in 1644. When the next Russian envoy presented himself in the "White City" we call Peking it was to a new ruler and a new Court that he addressed his appeal.

In 1654 Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich decided to send an envoy direct from himself to the Chinese ruler, and for the purpose he selected Theodor Baikoff who received set instructions. The Imperial letter was only to be handed to the Emperor of China himself, and Baikoff was warned that he "must by no means kiss the Bogdikhan's foot," but he might kiss his hands if so requested. The practical side of the matter was revealed in an order to ascertain the present condition and strength of China, and also what articles of commerce she produced and what she required. Mr. Baddeley's translation is made from the text of Sakharoff which is by much the fullest.

When Baikoff reached Kapka on the Great Wall, he had to wait ten days till permission came from Kanbalik (Marco Polo's Cambalu) for him to proceed. On the way there he was met by officials and at once a tussle began in matters of

etiquette which only closed when the envoy turned his face homewards. On their first meeting the officials ordered Baikoff to dismount and fall on his knees at the very gates, "Bow down," they said, "to our Tsar." Baikoff stoutly refused to comply, but the incident was not an encouraging beginning. None the less for his refusal he was allowed to proceed to the capital and assigned quarters in the usual courtyard or compound. Here, however, he was requested to hand over the State Gifts sent to the Tsar Bogdoi. He refused compliance, but they took them from him against receipt. They then tried to secure the Imperial letter, but he replied that they might tear him limb from limb, but he would give it into no man's hands save those of the Chinese Emperor. A fine obstinate fellow for a rude Cossack, that Baikoff; but none the less his mission was a failure. His gifts were returned to him, he was dismissed from Kanbalik and "sent away by no means politely." But none the less Baikoff had kept his eyes and his ears open and brought back such a vivid report of the condition of Peking in the early days of the Manchu rule as is not to be found anywhere else, as may be judged from the following extracts:—

"Such goods as were brought to the compound from the shops, were bought at a great price compared to the Russian; pearls were dear, twice as dear as our Russian pearls; as to precious stones, we saw none of any value, nor was there any demand for Russian merchandise, save only for ermines, and pestsi; there were sables and foxes and beavers and leopards in plenty, but it was impossible to buy. And there are velvets and silks and obyari and precious stones and pearls and silver in the Chinese capital, in Kanbalik, in plenty; and the velvets and silks and obyari are made in that city, as the Chinese and Mongols (Manchus) relate; but silver, pearls and precious stones and all kinds of petterned goods come from Karakchei, called by the Chinese and Mongols (Manchus) 'old Chinese'; and these old Chinese are ruled over by the son of the former Chinese Tsar Daiba; and from that city, from

Kanbalik, to the 'old Chinese,' overland, on camels, takes 2 months; 'and our Chinese Kingdom,' say they, 'is not one-fourth part compared to that of the 'old Chinese'; the inhabitants there are all Chinese nor is there a single Mongol (Manchu).

"And in the Chinese capital, in Kanbalik, is the Tsar Bogda of the Mongol race; but before that there was a Tsar of the Chinese race, Daba, and when the Mongols took the Chinese capital that Daba Tsar hanged himself, and his son was carried off by his nearest councillors and courtiers of the Chinese, to the border towns to Karakchi in old China. And the Mongols in that Chinese capital city are not numerous—not a tenth part; but of Chinese there are vast numbers. And the people in the Chinese capital city of both sexes are well grown and clean; but the Chinese women have little feet, like those of children, and it is said that they squeeze them on purpose, and they wear short dresses after their fashion with slits, and the sleeves wide, as in lietniks and the hair on their heads like the Germans.

"But the Mongol women are clean and have full-sized feet; they wear long dresses, to the ground Kalmuk fashion so that their feet are not seen; and they plait their hair in tails and wind them round their heads which they do not cover; and others bind them with black kerchiefs. They eat all sorts of abominable food in the Chinese capital city; they eat dogs, and sell boiled dog-meat in the shops; and they eat all sorts of things that have died. And all food is dear; a live swan costs three or four lans; a goose costs one lan; a chicken two zolotniks; a duck four zolotniks; a fat sheep two lans; an ox eight or ten lans; and they buy all sorts of small things for brass, as we say pul or as they say ches; and for a zolotnik of silver you buy 140 large ches and twice as many small ones."

Baikoff's impressions were completed by the fragmentary account of his successor Perfilieff. The rival pretensions of Russian Tsar and Chinese Emperor are

revealed in the correspondence. The condescending tone of the former found its match in the haughty curtness of the latter. Alexei Mikhailovich must have experienced a rude shock when he read that "the tribute thou didst send we have accepted, and in return, we send thee our gifts and favours."

Meantime Russia had reached the Amoor and ravaged the valley with fire and sword. The unhappy Dahurs and other natives had been treated with the utmost cruelty. These tribes were subjects of the Manchus, who had been too busily employed in the conquest of southern China when the Russians first appeared on the river to protect them. But when the young Emperor Kanghi assumed the government in person he turned his attention to this quarter, and complained of the Cossacks. The Russian Governor of Nerchinsk accordingly sent one Milovanoff to Peking with a proposal to Kanghi to "accept Russian suzerainty." It in no way diminishes the effrontery of the demand—China at that time being a far more civilised and powerful State than Russia—to know that this message was never delivered. Certainly if it had been, Kanghi would never have admitted him to audience, although all that the great Emperor did was to stare at the Russians for an hour, order them a cup of tea and ask their ages—"other word said he none."

The situation in the Amoor became so strained and the threats of Chinese retaliation so menacing that the Tsar decided to send an ambassador, of higher rank than had yet been delegated for the task, to Peking. It so happened that there was in his service a foreigner who possessed exceptional qualifications for the post, and who, whether he failed or not in his task, could not but lend dignity to his mission. A Moldavian of noble birth, but of Greek ancestry, named Nikolai Gavrilovich Spathary, was employed in the Moscow Foreign Office as translator, and enjoyed the favour of the Minister then supreme, Prince Matveyeff. Spathary was a man of immense learning; the patriarch Dositheus,

described him as "replete with universal knowledge." In 1675 this remarkable man was appointed to head the special embassy that Alexei Mikhailovich had decided, for the reasons given, to send to the Chinese Court. It is not going too far to say that Mr. Baddeley's account of this Embassy amounts to a positive revelation. Among all the foreign envoys sent to Peking, prior to 1860, Spathary is the only one to rank with Lords Macartney and Amherst, and he preceded the former of them by 120 years. He was the first in the field to see the Manchu Court in its prime.

His instructions were in the first place, and before everything else, to exalt the dignity of the Tsar and to extol his power. He was entrusted with two distinct letters for the Emperor of China. If his reception was honourable and the Emperor received him in person, he might hand him the more important as Ambassador, but if there were difficulties with the officials then he was to use the other in a humbler role. But his main task was to give the fullest possible description of China and to set down in all their details everything that happened to himself in China and on the journey. He discharged this part of his task in a way that excites our admiration and that places him as a chronicler very nearly on a level with Marco Polo.

While still waiting in Mongolia for permission to continue his journey to Peking, Spathary took stock of the new world into which he was intruding. "The Chinese people," he wrote, "are humble in speech and simple in attire, yet in that seeming humility is concealed a vast pride for they believe that there are no better people in the world than they and that their manner and customs are superior to those of all others." A summary of Chinese history and of the problem of her external relations could not be given in better words, and it says much for the perspicacity of the Greek. Immediately he came in contact with the Chinese officials, sent by the Emperor to escort him to Peking, he was forced to recognise that their one main object was to put him

in a position of inferiority, and a contest of etiquette began which never ended until he turned his face homewards again.

It began with the arrival of the Askaniama, when Spáthary was called upon to pay him the first visit. This, opposed to all precedent, shocked the dignity of the envoy, and the story of this preliminary encounter may be told in his own words:—

“They stated that I ought to have come to meet the Askaniama, and that I should now visit him in his compound and discuss the affairs of the two great monarchs. The Askaniama also was unwell, having on the way ridden after a hare and fallen from his horse and hurt his leg so that he could not walk. I told them that I had noticed myself that the mandarin could not walk, for he had arrived in a cart. They had a custom, however, of being carried in chairs and he could very well visit me in this way. They came again assuring me earnestly that the Askaniama had strict injunctions from the Chinese Emperor not to visit me in my compound but to summon me to his and inquire into everything thoroughly. I refused giving my reasons at length, The ultimatum was as follows; there was an empty house half way between him and me; he proposed that we should both proceed thither at the same time each from his own lodging. I replied that I refused to go to that third house and they argued it with me for a long time but at last departed. He again sent his voevodas and clerks who said they had found another way to guard both sovereigns, namely, that I should pitch my travelling yourt on an empty space wherever I liked and he would come to visit me there as soon as I invited him. There was much argument over this again but I refused the proposal. He then sent to announce that he had a tent set up in a field a long way off, and we must ride there. I one way he another.”

This proposal also was rejected, but in the end when the fate of the mission seemed at stake a compromise was

arranged. A tent was set up and there the Russian representative was visited by the Chinese, thus scoring the first success, but the contest of rival wits was only commencing. The Askaniama demanded the surrender of the Tsar's letter. Nothing would induce Spathary to give it up save to the Bogdikhán in person. The Chinaman said other things "with great arrogance," but Spathary countered to good effect with the recital of the Tsar's titles. He was described not only as "the autocrat of all the Russias Great Little and White," but also as "another sun to the world and as the sun by its nature is a blessing to all giving out light and gracious influences especially to the moon and stars at the same time attracting to itself what there is of good and precious in them, so His Imperial Majesty the Tsar not only sheds upon all his subjects every grace and blessing but also to other great sovereigns who dwell in this world like larger stars, the choicest in heaven gives out from himself, as it were, light, love and friendship with all that follows." This tirade seems to have left the mandarin without the capacity to reply. The erudite of the Hanlin College could only invite the emeritus of St. Sophia to continue the journey, at the same time reserving to himself the right to resume the contest when the conditions were more in his favour.

The decision to allow the Russian envoy to come on to Peking was due entirely to the wishes and orders of the Emperor Kanghi, the greatest and most enlightened of all the Manchu rulers. Although representing a race of conquerors who had not even at that moment made themselves secure on the throne of China, he was a man of peace averse to war and anxious to have friendly relations with his Russian neighbours. But for these sentiments Spathary would never have seen the Great Wall. So it was that Spathary and his numerous suite took up their abode in what was called the Ambassador's compound at Peking where a guard was set upon them and no one was allowed to go out. Under such conditions it did not seem that anything of much value could

be written about the State of China for their Tsar's edification. The disputations and contentions recommenced with incessant acerbity between the envoy and the Askaniama, the chief point at issue now being the surrender of the Tsar's letter for examination, and although Spathary had got to Peking it did not look as if he would ever reach the Imperial presence. A dramatic turn was given to the situation by the appearance of a new actor, whose presence was due in all probability to Kanghi's own intervention. This was Ferdinand Verbiest, head of the Jesuits in Peking, and President of the Chinese Astrological Board. Spathary addressed him in Latin at their first meeting, a bond of sympathy was established between the two scholars, and things generally went smoother—"And the Chinese mandarins asked Verbiest—could the ambassador really converse with him? and he told them very well indeed. Then they asked the Ambassador whether that interpreter pleased him, and could they understand each other completely? And the Ambassador begged them to thank the Bogdikan for having sent such a man."

There was no longer any risk at least of mutual misunderstanding.

It is impossible for any one but the reader of the narrative to follow in all its piquant details the story of the prolonged encounter between two intelligences so keen and subtle as were those of the typical Greek and the not less typical Chinese official, between whom it would be impossible to adjudge the palm for they were both on a level.

Who but a man of the highest culture could have used the bland phrase of the Askaniama to his protagonist, "I think the Tsar chose you expressly to come and talk to us—we being simple people unaccustomed and unable to answer otherwise than quite directly?" But in spite of official etiquette and continuous squabbles the Emperor Kanghi was set on one thing. He was determined to have a look at this man from his Western neighbour with his own eyes.

And so at last Spathary was taken through the Red City to the Imperial Palace to be brought face to face with the Emperor Kanghi at the distance of 56 feet, but each could see the other quite well, and here are the main passages of Spathary's version—"The Khan's throne where he sits is seven feet from the ground: it is octagonal in shape, and made of wood gilt, with a golden baldachin above it. The dais itself is very large and wide, with three stairways up it, which stairways are also golden. The Khan sat in the middle, a young man with fresh-coloured face, and they say that he is twenty-three years old. In the Hall, on either side, sat his brothers and relatives between the dais and the doors, on the ground; squatting on pieces of felt, extremely white and fine. When the Ambassador arrived, tea was served to the Khan's brothers and relations, and all the most honourable personages—the tea being handed by similar people, but young ones. These intimates wear, each, a peacock's plume on his head, and the tea is served in large, yellow wooden cups, and boiled together with butter and milk, in Tartar, not Chinese fashion. And each and all, when the cups were brought to them, bowed to the ground, to the left hand, holding the cups in the right; then sat again and drank. When they had finished drinking, they bowed to the ground again; the cups were collected by those young people; the music played softly; and the crier cried. Along the terrace were marble plinths, and on them great bronze vessels, as it were kumgani, filled with many and various scents. Also there were marble sun-dials, up above; and some of the mandarins sat, while others stood about the terrace. After tea, the music ceased, and the man cried out loudly, and the Alikhamba told the Ambassador to rise; and all stood up, while the Khan left his place and walked past the throne, and out of the Hall to his own inner apartments—for there are no more high walls and gates beyond that place, only one council-chamber where the Kolais meet, and, beyond that, the Khan's own dwelling-rooms, where his wives live; and

nobody goes there but the eunuchs of whom there are very many."

The Emperor could not have been unfavourably impressed by his visitor or his behaviour on this occasion, for he caused him to be invited to a State dinner. The Secretaries said it was the practice to give all strangers "three dinners following one another at no great intervals" prior to sending them away. This practice, if it ever existed, must have fallen into disuse before Lord Macartney's mission at the end of the 18th century. When Spathary received the first invitation he was told that "before sitting down to table he must kowtow to the Bogdikhan nine times and again nine times on rising." This Spathary absolutely refused to do saying "We will bow once as the Dutch Ambassadors did," and finally he gave way to the extent of agreeing to "bow three times." The first of the dinners was that which the Chinese called "the kowtowing ceremony"—and certainly, notwithstanding his bold refusals, what Spathary did went very near indeed to kowtowing as may be judged from his own words—"Then he ordered his cushion to be put on the ground and fell on his knees, and all of them (his suite) prostrated themselves three times." That was a great deal more than the Dutch Ambassador had done, and furnishes some ground for the charge made against Spathary after his return to Russia that he really had "kowtowed." The fact seems to have been that he went as near as possible to compliance without "striking the ground with his forehead." It must also not be overlooked that as the Emperor was not present on this occasion the concession made by the Russian envoy must have appeared to the Chinese a great deal more significant than he intended.

The reward came in an invitation to dine with the Emperor in his own palace. It read as follows:—

"The great Khan himself means to give you a dinner in his presence in the far Palace-hall where his own dwelling is—whereas up to now neither the Chinese nor the Manchu

have allowed envoys not only to sit (in their presence) but even to see them. The officials who brought the invitation were themselves astonished at this breach of custom. However they had been called on to interpret and to explain the customary ceremonial and they rejoiced greatly at this mark of honour towards H.M. the Tsar and the fame that must thereby accrue to the whole of Christendom."

For the description of this memorable dinner, which is certainly the tit bit of Spathary's narrative, the reader must be referred to the pages of the work itself. It was significant in another sense for it was the end of the civilities offered to the Russian envoy. He had seen "the eyes of the Emperor" who at the same time had satiated his own curiosity. The envoy left afterwards to the tender mercies of the Chinese officials, who were no longer subject to the sovereign's restraint, was hurried if not bundled out of the country with little consideration or regard for appearances.

Meantime Kanghi had come to some clear decisions as to his policy towards Russia. Verbiest imparted them to Spathary under oath of secrecy in the following passage:—

"The Khan intended, if the Tsar did not surrender the man Gantimur, to go to war for him, he meant also to capture the frontier forts of Albazin and Nerchinsk, for the Russians had become formidable in their eyes, especially since they had learnt, through us, that, in truth, the Russians were there by the Tsar's orders; and not, as they had thought, as lawless people, such as formerly infested the Amoor river, and could be destroyed whenever necessary. 'They know that, at present, the garrisons in those places are not numerous and that Moscow is far away, while they are comparatively near; but their plan is to wait until the number of their troops on the frontier is augmented; and they care less about getting hold of Gantimur than about finding out what are the Tsar's intentions. They are cunning people, and understand that these forts exist on account of the yasak-paying natives. If the Tsar gives up Gantimur, who is the chieftain of all these

people, the rest of them will follow him, or scatter in various directions; so that it would no longer be worth the Tsar's while to spend money in maintaining troops there. He thought they would await one more reply from the Tsar, after the Ambassador's return, provided the border cossacks committed no breach of the peace. If, however, it were His Majesty's intention to refuse to give up Gantimur, troops in large numbers should be sent without delay to defend those forts; for the Manchus themselves wondered how we dare dwell in such small numbers in close proximity to so mighty an empire. They, the Jesuits, were glad to serve the Tsar as they serve God, for they love not the Manchus, as they did the Chinese."

* This advice was not taken to heart. The Russian garrisons were overwhelmed by the Chinese, Albazin was razed to the ground, an ignominious treaty was imposed at Nerchinsk and from 1689 to 1858 Russian authority disappeared from the Amoor.

What is the general conclusion to be drawn from the chronicle of these missions? It is to establish the vast superiority of Chinese culture over Russian. The Muscovite with his greed for pelts to be obtained by guile or force from the trapper, and then by practically exterminating in ruthless fashion the engaging and attractive animals that provided the fur, figures badly beside the educated and docile Chinaman. It may be said in excuse of Russia that she sent some of the worst specimens of her varied and hybrid races to spy out the neighbouring lands with an eye to wholesale robbery. The only plea that can be put forward for the Russians is that they did not pretend to be more than robbers "in the name of the Great White Tsar," and that their civilisation was about on a level with that of the Kirghiz tribes with whom they had waged war for five centuries. Far higher in the scale were the Mongols with their civil code, literate priests, and chiefs ranking their portable libraries as their most valuable

possessions. Of these the Russian traveller Potanin has given the following noteworthy description:—

“Life among the Mongols proceeds quietly, their ways are gentle, brutal treatment of women and children is unheard of; crimes especially murders are of rare occurrence; Russian merchants living in Uliasutai assured me that they had never heard of a murder; there had been but one case of violent death and that was a suicide. To such a degree do the Mongols abhor death by violence that when the Chinese authorities had condemned several men to death for political offences not a man was to be found amongst the Mongols to undertake the role of executioner. A heavy bribe induced one at last to carry out the sentence, but from that moment he was ostracised by all. The foreigner can travel in safety throughout the country, Russian salesmen go alone from camp to camp with their goods nor ever complain of injury.”

No Mongol or other foreigner has ever attempted to return the compliment with regard to Russia. There at all epochs “enslaving with brutality,” massacring without mercy, the pogrom, and the official decimations of Easter Sundays, whether the head of the State has been Tsar or Bolsheviki, stand out in lurid contrast with Buddhist calm and the security of the Mongol steppes. It is almost with a sigh of relief that one must come to the conclusion that Russia’s expansion eastwards to the Chinese frontier, and the Pacific, has now lost much of its vigour and all its menace for a long time—at least to China.

There is another and a totally distinct section of Mr. Baddeley’s work devoted to the cartography of Northern Asia. Here we have reproductions in facsimile of the maps of Tartary from the Atlases of Ortelius and Jansson, several versions of the Godunoff map of 1667, the Remezoff maps prepared by order of Peter the Great, those remarkable Kalmuk maps brought back by the Swedish prisoners of war Renat from the Eleuth country, and others of a more general

character. These constitute what the author probably considers the outstanding feature of his great production, and certainly they are the main cause of the heavy cost of producing these volumes.

Although the words were penned before the Bolshevik movement had attained its worst form of ferocity, Mr. Baddeley foresaw the decline of Russian power in the Amoor region as the result of economic causes, and we cannot conclude our notice of a work, which places all serious students of history under a heavy obligation, better than by quoting what is in the author's opinion the main lesson to be derived from these passages of Russia's history. "What the future shall bring, who shall say? Of the nations we have seen assembling, arming, conquering or being conquered in Northern Asia from 1600 A.D. the two greatest, China and Russia, are, as we write, a prey to anarchy, the latter dismembered, dishonoured by her own insensate sons. To them has now been added Japan, who has taken her stand firmly on the mainland where she may possibly exert an influence over China of a nature to affect the fortunes of the world. On the other hand we have some reason to eliminate the Manchus as a national force and we may safely do the same by the Mongols and Kalmuks. For the nomad as far as human vision can penetrate will never again be a menace to his neighbours. The future of the world is to the great industrial communities; none other can wage war in modern conditions for none other can produce the munitions and supplies requisite in the necessary quantities. One other prophecy may be ventured upon with some assurance of fulfilment. On the Amoor Russia even before the war was economically dependent upon her Asiatic neighbours. Meat came from Mongolia; corn from Manchuria and the Maritime province; such vegetables as were grown locally were produced by Chinese or Koreans. In vain the authorities strove to do without foreign labour employing convicts. When in 1910 the Russian workman struck for

exorbitant wages which by stress of circumstances were conceded, they hired Chinese coolies to do their work at one-third of the price while they lounged about smoking and drinking. In view of such facts it is evident that only a Russia stronger than ever before—and wiser—can hope to retain her far-eastern possessions for any length of time. The chances are that she will lose all beyond the boundary (*i.e.*, the Argun) of 1689 at least. Farther west where agriculture and industry go hand in hand in more favourable conditions there seems no reason why Russia should not hold her own, if only she takes to heart the bitter lesson of to-day."

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

WHERE PRATAPADITYA REIGNED.

BY P. LEO FAULKNER, F. R. G. S.

(Indian Police).

KHULNA is an inland port with a large trade. It is well-known to those who travel by the vessels of the Assam and Delta Despatch steamer services. By virtue too of its railway connection with Calcutta, which by train is only 109 miles away, Khulna has of late years gained considerably in commercial importance. During the cyclone which recently ravaged several districts of south and south-east Bengal, Khulna suffered much. In this direction it deserves the sympathy of all for hardly a decade passes that it is not visited by a natural calamity such as a cyclone or a storm wave. Death, destruction and distress invariably result.

Forty years ago much indigo was grown in the immediate vicinity of Khulna town. The indigo was of an excellent type; in fact it was considered to be the finest in Bengal. Now there is not a single plant in the district. In his statistical report dated 1868, Colonel J. E. Gastrell, F.R.G.S., refers to the Khaleshpore indigo factory close to the junction of the Bhairab River and the Rupsah Khal. In those days Khulna was but a subdivision of Jessore and the houses now occupied by the Magistrate and District Police Superintendent were then the subdivisional officer's catcherry and bungalow respectively. The town market is even nowadays often alluded to as the Saheber bazar, after Mr. Challet who owned the Khaleshpore concern. The town itself is called after *Khullana*, a heroine of Hindu mythology. She is said to have dedicated a shrine to Kali on the bank of the Bhairab, and hence the town which

gradually grew up around the shrine came to be known as *Khulna*.

The southern part of *Khulna* district is occupied by the *Sundarbans*. They cover an area of 2,688 square miles, and the work of reclamation has as yet made but little progress. Villages hardly exist, and the forest is almost a monopoly of the tiger and deer that abound within its precincts. *Khulna* is rich in historical associations, for within its confines was the capital of *Pratapaditya*, the Hindu hero of the *Sundarbans*.

On the way to the *Sundarbans* little of interest is passed. Here is a vast paddy field of the type seen everywhere in East Bengal: there a village with its houses built within clumps of trees: next a bazar where once or twice a week all the men in the neighbourhood congregate to buy and sell rice and salt and the other necessities of rural Bengal life.

The rivers are dotted with the boats of fishermen who for the most part persist in the methods handed down to them from generation to generation. Now and again a long boat will be observed with five or six squealing otters tied on a plank in the prow. These little animals are thrown into the water when fishing operations begin and as they dive and swim about they frighten the fish into the net that has been dropped overboard from the boat. While thus engaged they are constantly fed with little fishes thrown to them by their owners. They are very obedient and rarely fail to return to the boat when ordered so to do. This is probably due to the fact that all the otters are not let loose at the same time. When not on duty they lie on their backs in the sun and it is surprising to see how comfortable they make themselves considering the few inches of rope they are allowed. They are tied up with stout cords around their necks and bodies in the same way as petted pug dogs are occasionally restrained. The unloosening of the knots is always a lengthy and difficult operation as the men fear to touch the animals with their hands. A long bamboo with

two prongs is utilised for this purpose invariably to the accompaniment of much language of a forcible nature.

In the jungle streams an occasional boat is met. The crew are on the way to one of the forest stations to cut trees and gather *golpata* leaves. Sundari wood is much valued for carpentry and timber work generally, while the leaves of the *golpata* are extensively used for thatching purposes.

Situated in the Sundarbans at a village called Iswaripur, which is only a couple of miles from the Shamnagar police station, are what are said to be the ruins of a capital of Pratapaditya. During the time of Akbar, Sulaiman Kararani was king of Bengal from 1563 to 1573. He was succeeded by his son Bayazid, whose misrule soon culminated in a rebellion, as a result of which his younger brother, Daud Khan, was placed upon the throne. Daud prospered mightily and gathering a large and well-trained army around him it was not long before he denied the supremacy of Akbar and began to mint his own coins. Daud Khan relied entirely on the advice of Sridhar and Janaki Ballab, two brothers who had previously enjoyed the complete confidence of Sulaiman. Sridhar was made prime minister and created Raja Bikramaditya, while Janaki was appointed treasurer and designated Basanta Rai. They continually urged Daud Khan to raise the standard of rebellion, knowing full well that his rash acts would result in his own ruin and their aggrandisement. About this time one Chand Khan Masandari died without an heir, and his estates in what is now known as the Sundarbans were made over to the two brothers as a reward for their faithful services. Thus did the old kingdom of Jashore come into being, and it is almost certain that this is the place referred to as Chandecan (Chandkhan) by the Jesuits and other western travellers of those times.

Tradition has it that the prime minister and treasurer lost no time in fortifying Chandecan and that they then hastened to remove thither their family and the greater

part of their valuables. Bikram's son, Pratapaditya, was about 14 years of age at this time, and he was kept at Chandecan. Daud Khan's enterprise was doomed to failure, and this was quickly realised by the brains behind the throne. When Daud determined to flee to Orissa, he left all the state treasures and documents with his trusted counsellors and directed them to use these resources, not for the furtherance of private enterprises, but for the defiance and ultimate subjection of the hated Moghul rulers. To this Bikram and Basanta agreed, and they forthwith retired without delay to their fortress at Chandecan and continued their intrigues against the Moghul intruders. When Gaur capitulated in 1574 the brothers came to terms with the victors and after protracted discussions with Raja Todar Mal they agreed to surrender the state papers dealing with the Pathan administration of Bengal in exchange for official acknowledgment of their rights to the land made over to them by Daud Khan. The two brothers thereafter remained in joint control at Chandecan until 1580 when Bikramaditya died. In the meantime Pratapaditya was growing up to man's estate, and he is said to have objected strongly to the way in which his father and Basanta acknowledged Moghul supremacy. So that he might realise the grandeur and strength of the Moghul court and also that he might not be able to foment trouble and intrigue at Chandecan, his father and uncle sent Pratap to the court at Agra as the ambassador of the vassal chief of Chandecan, which by that time was invariably spoken of as Jashore. Pratapaditya appears to have understood fully the reasons which caused his removal to Agra, for while there he gained the favour and good will of the Emperor and obtained a firman conferring upon him not only the title of raja, but the whole of his paternal estates. Bikram died shortly after Pratap's return to Jashore with a large Moghul force.

Professor S. C. Mitra, B.A., of the Daulatpur College, who has made a special study of the history of Jessore and

Khulna, writes:—"Pratap selected a new site and made a capital of his own with an extensive fortress, the ruins of which still point to great engineering skill and seemingly impregnable strength."

Mr. Westland of the Civil Service made the following remarks when writing his report on the district of Jessore in 1874:—"An account of Jessore would not be complete without reference to King Pratapaditya, though, as the ruins of his buildings are now within the 24-Parganas, I have not been able to visit them. . . .Bikramaditya had a son whose name was Pratapaditya and who was endowed with all the virtues under the sun; and this Pratapaditya succeeded him in the possession of the principality of Jessore. It is doubtful if Pratapaditya waited for his father's death, for he appears to have set up a rival city at Dhumghat, close to the old Jessore, and to have taken possession a little time before his father's death."

I should observe here that at the time Mr. Westland wrote his report the west of the present district of Khulna was included within the 24-Parganas. This explains his remark at the beginning of the extract I have quoted.

Mr. O'Malley of the Civil Service who compiled the Khulna district gazetteer in 1908 simply remarks:—"He (Pratap) then returned to Yasohara, (*i.e.*, Jashore) and, having supplanted his father, removed the seat of government to Dhumghat."

Babu Ananda Nath Rai in a Bengalee work entitled "Bara Bhuiya" and published in 1911 declares that Pratapaditya on his return from Delhi reigned with the help and good will of Basanta. "After assuming the title of Raja, Pratapaditya concealed his opinions and plans and appeared to be carrying out the behests of the Moghul Emperor. With an eye to the future, however, he began to erect forts within his kingdom. At this time a capital was built at Dhumghat. . . .Tradition says that the fort at Dhumghat took a vast number of labourers five years to build."

In this connection I will quote but one more authority. Babu Nikhil Nath Rai, B.L., is the author of a Bengalee work styled "Pratapaditya" and printed in 1906. He is definite in his statement about Dhumghat which is to the following effect:—"Pratapaditya being unwilling to live in the same place as his father and uncle, decided to erect a capital (*nagar*) for himself. To the south-west of Jashore in a village called Dhumghat he began to construct houses for his accommodation. In the course of time Dhumghat became a town of importance and being so close to Jashore the two places soon extended to an area of ten square miles. This township became the capital of the Jashore *Raj*."

These excerpts will, I think, be sufficient to demonstrate the difference of opinion that obtains as to the exact position of Chandecan and Dhumghat. I have visited Iswaripur and made a careful examination of the various structural remains that still exist. Father Hosten, S.J., in his paper on "The Twelve Bhuiyas or Landlords of Bengal," writes that "the kingdom of Chandecan has been identified, correctly I believe, by Mr. H. Beveridge with Dhumghat, near the modern bazar of Kaliganj, on the Madhumati" (*sic*). "Leaving these matters, however, for the present," says Mr. Beveridge, "let us first answer the question, where was Chandecan? I reply that it is identical with Pratapaditya's capital of Dhumghat, and that it was situated near the modern Kaliganj. My reasons for this view are first that Chandecan or Ceandecan is evidently the same as Chand Khan....When the Jesuit priests visited Chandecan, Pratapaditya cannot have been very long on the throne, and therefore the old name of the locality (Chand Khan) may still have clung to it. But besides this, du Jarric tells us that, after Fernandez had been killed at Chittagong in 1602, the Jesuit priests went to Sandip, but they soon left it and went with Carvalho, the Portuguese commander, to Chandecan. The king of Chandecan promised to befriend them, but in fact he was determined

to kill Carvalho, and thereby make friends with the king of Arakan, who was then very powerful and had already taken possession of the kingdom of Bakla. The king therefore sent for Carvalho to 'Jasor,' and there had him murdered. The news reached Chandecan, says du Jarric, at midnight, and this perhaps may give us some idea of the distance of the two places." The foregoing quotation is from the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XLV, Part I, 1876. Reverting to this interesting subject in the volume for 1911 (*vide* page 16), Mr. Beveridge observes:—"Moreover, we know that Pratapaditya did not live always, at least, at his father's city of Jessore (*i.e.*, Jashore). He rebelled against him and established a rival city at Dhumghat. In so doing he may have selected the site of Chand Khan's capital, and this may have retained the name of Chand Khan for two or three years after Pratapaditya had removed to it."

It is now necessary to refer to the testimony of the Jesuit Fathers mentioned by Mr. Beveridge. The story of their wanderings in Bengal has been included by Pierre du Jarric in his "Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues aux Indes Orientales" published in Bordeaux between 1608 and 1614. I cannot do better than quote the following extracts from du Jarric's history, as they shew the circumstances in which the priests visited Chandecan:—

A ces fins le P. Nicolas Pimenta Visiteur de la compagnie de Jesus en l'Inde l'an 1598 y envoya deux Pères d'icelle à scauvoir le P. Francois Fernandez and le P. Dominique Sosa, and l'année suyuante autres deux, qui furent le P. Melchoir de Fonseca and le P. Jean André Boues. La première (lettre) donc est du P. Francois Fernandez, escrite de Dianga au dit Père Visiteur du 22 Decembre en ces termes.... mois d'Octobre le P. Dominique Sosa m'escruit qu'il estoit necessaire que j'allasse a Chandecan.... Ce que je fis and comme le Raja scent que j'estois arrivé il m'envoya bien-veigner par

un Brachmane des Principaux qu'il eut, me faisant direr, qu'il estoit fort joyeux de ce que j'estois arrivè, and desiroit extremement me voir. Voyla le contenu de la lettre du P. Francois Fernandez à laquelle ill nous faut adiouster celle du P. Melchior de Fonseca, escrite de Chandecan au mesme P. Visiteur du 20 Janvier 1600.....

J'arrivay à Chandecan le 20 Novembre, là ou mon compagnon le P. Dominique Sosa ne se resjoüist pas moins de ma veue, que je fis de la sienne. Je fus aussi tort bien accueilly des Portugais, qui ne m'attendoient pas si tost: parcequ'on leur avoit dit que je debuois aller ailleurs. Le lendemain j'allay salver le Roy and luy apportay un present d'orenges de la race de Beringan, fort belles sachant qu'il n'en y avoit pas en ces quartiers, dont il fut tres-aise and me fort honneste accueil....Et parce que c'estoit la la première feste, que nous celebrions en Bengala, nous employasmes tout ce qui estoit en nous d'industrie pour la rendre plus celèbre à la confusion de Gentils: de facond qu'outre ce que nous fismes pour l'orner....Le Roy desireux de voir l'Eglise vint chez nous accompagné d'une grande suite de courtesans and la trouvant si been ornée, il monstra d'en recevoir beaucoup de contentement. Il entra dans icelle avec grande reverence and avant que s'approcher de la maistresse chappelle il osta ses souliers and ne fut jamais possible de la faire asseoir en une chaire qu'on luy avait preparée.....”

In Babu Nikhil Nath Ray's work on Pratapaditya he prints Sir Thomas Roe's map on which a Chandecan is marked. The map in question is dated 1617. Father Hosten refers to a map by Sir Thomas Roe which bears the year 1632. On it too the "Ile de Chandecan" is given. Father Hosten also alludes to a map by Monserrate in which Chandecan is mentioned. This is believed to have been drawn about the year 1600.

It is thus proved beyond all reasonable doubt that—

- (a) Bikramaditya and Basanta Rai erected forts and buildings at Chandecan (Jashore).
- (b) Pratapaditya on his return from Agra and Delhi built a rival town and fortified it.
- (c) Fathers Fernandez, Fonseca and other priests visited Chandecan and built a church with the consent of Pratapaditya.

As regards the rival fort, etc., erected by Pratapaditya it is generally held for reasons which have been recorded that the buildings were constructed at Dhumghat, a village close to Chandecan (Jashore). Mr. Beveridge has explained in detail why he considers Chandecan and Dhumghat to be identical. There is certainly much to be said in favour of this theory, and it is reasonable to assume the Bikram's headquarters and Pratap's new capital which were so close to each other would be amalgamated when Pratapaditya took the reins of government into his own hands. As the crow flies, Iswaripur is 12 miles south-east of Kaliganj. Eight miles north-east of Iswaripur is a village called Pratapnagar. No remains are now visible, but tradition maintains that Pratapaditya built a fort there. Pratapnagar's only claim to fame at present is the fact that it is the site of a police outpost.

The most interesting ruin at Iswaripur is the Tenga Masjid. It is a large building nearly fifty yards long. Surmounted by five domes the edifice has an imposing appearance and it is held in veneration not only by the local Mussalmans, but also by the Hindus. The domes measured from inside, are 35 feet high. Three of them are in a dilapidated condition, and it is difficult to understand how they withstood the onslaughts of the recent cyclone. Unless early steps are taken for the preservation of this Masjid, it is certain to crumble and fall in the near future. If it is not possible for Government to move in the matter, it is earnestly to be desired that some members of the Mahomedan

community will take the initiative and conserve what is not only a mosque with historic associations, but is a building of immense interest to the public at large. Close to the Masjid are some hollows and ruins which are believed to be the graves of certain amirs of Raja Man Singh who lost their lives in the engagement with Pratapaditya.

The remains of the old fort are apparent to the south of the confluence of the Jamuna and the Icchamati. None of the buildings are now standing, but the high embankments which fringe the enclosure indicate precisely the use to which they were put. Outside these ramparts is a fosse which brings to mind the moat which was excavated around the Tower of London. Cannon balls, scraps of iron and other impedimenta of a warlike character have been excavated from time to time. Some of these exhibits are displayed with pride by Babu Srish Chandra Chatterji Adhikari, the president panchayet of the Iswaripur Union; others are in the museum of the Daulatpur College, while yet others can be seen in the collection of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad in Calcutta. Quite recently some bones of unusual size were discovered, and they proved to be part of the skeleton of an elephant.

Pratapaditya's audience hall (Baradwari) is to the north-east of the old fort. There is now little to be seen of this building beyond the remnants of the walls. The bricks used in this edifice were of a special type and many of them bear ornamental designs. To the south of the hall of audience is a large lagoon which is still known locally as the Baradwari pukur.

The hamamkhana (bath) even now is, comparatively speaking, in a good state of repair and this demonstrates with what care and with what excellent materials the work was originally done. It is believed that the building had formerly two, if not three, storeys. There are three compartments. That to the east contains two reservoirs and a well. Each room has an arched ceiling, and five holes (for

pipes, presumably) through the walls are still distinguishable. The western room has lost one of its walls and a part of the roof. In the immediate neighbourhood of the hamamkhana many bricks and pillars have been discovered.

To the east of the Masjid is Kali's Temple. This is a building of rectangular shape which was built 1216 B.S., *i.e.*, 110 years ago. It should be remembered that when Bikramaditya selected Chandecan (Jashore) as his retreat he found a shrine to Kali had already been erected there by a Brahmin named Anori. Kali thus became the family deity and Pratapaditya after he had installed himself at Dhumghat is said either to have repaired or rebuilt the Temple. Again, according to Hindu teachings, Jashore is one of the fifty-two places which received fragments of Kali's body when it was hurled into space by Shib. The adhikari at Iswaripur is proud of the fact that his little village in the Sundarbans was selected by the goddess as the resting place for her hand and foot (*pani padma*). When Pratapaditya first reigned in Jashore Kali's image used to look to the south. Hindu tradition maintains that Pratapaditya prospered so long as the goddess smiled upon him but that his troubles began as soon as he offended her. It is generally believed that she took offence at the inhuman treatment he dealt out to a woman who happened to annoy him. One authority urges that an old woman approached him and appealed for alms. Her voice was a little hoarse, and, this displeasing him, he ordered her breasts to be cut off. Another declares that this punishment was meted out to a maidservant who had the temerity to flee from his protection. A third remarks that it was the fate of a chandal woman who was so ill advised as to brush the floor of the hall of audience while he was seated on his throne. Shortly after this act of cruelty Pratap went into the Temple to attend to his devotions but the goddess to indicate her displeasure turned away from him with the result

that thereafter she looked towards the west with her back to the Raja's hall of audience.

I have referred to the mosque of the Moslems and to the shrine of the Hindus; it will now be appropriate to consider what facts and circumstances exist at the present time to indicate the position of the Christian church.

From du Jarric's history it is known that four Jesuit missionaries visited Bengal during 1598 and 1599. They are

- (1) Francis Fernandez
- (2) Dominic da Sosa
- (3) Melchior da Fonseca
- (4) Andrew Bowes.

Sosa left Chittagong in May 1599 and arrived at Chandecan in October of that year. Fonseca first went to Bakla where he met the youthful Raja, Ram Chandra Ray, who received him warmly and granted him a passport to the kingdom of Pratapaditya who was later destined to be his father-in-law. Father Fonseca eventually arrived at Chandecan on the 20th of November 1599. He forthwith asked permission to build a church and the necessary sanction being accorded by the liberal-minded and tolerant Raja, Fonseca erected what du Jarric describes as the first Christian church in Bengal. The church was opened with great pomp and éclat and the ceremony was attended by a vast concourse of people.

When I recently visited Iswaripur, some ruins were pointed out to me as being the site on which the church was constructed. The site is at some little distance to the south-east of the Jashoreswari Temple and is protected by a moat as is the case with the other buildings. A graveyard was recently discovered in the neighbourhood of the church and the president panchayet, Babu Srish Chandra Chatterji Adhikari, assured me that forty skeletons had been found therein. The graves which I examined are lined with brick and it was explained to me that the skeletons when exhumed

were noticed not to conform with Moslem custom inasmuch as they did not lie north and south. This means that those buried here were not adherents of the Mussalman faith, and it therefore follows that they must have been Christians. It might be urged that perhaps they are the resting place of those killed in battle and deposited in the earth at random. This argument is, however, not convincing, as it is improbable that they would have been interned in brick lined graves. Such being the case, Iswaripur is not only of interest to the Hindus for the Shrine to Kali and to the Moslems for the well preserved Tenga Masjid, but it is hallowed with sacred memories for Christians in general and Catholics in particular as the site of the first church erected in Bengal.

Pratapaditya did not long extend his protection to the priests, for in 1602 he expelled them from his dominions. They were subjected to evilly devised tortures, and Father Fernandez met his end in a jail at Chittagong, after being most inhumanly treated. Pratap also had Carvalho, one of his commanders, murdered, and assassinated his uncle Basanta with all but one of his children. Ultimately, the King of Chandecan followed in the footsteps of Daud and rebelled against his overlord, the Emperor of Delhi. Man Singh, governor of Bengal, was deputed to subdue him and eventually with the assistance of one Bhawanand who led him to Jashore through an intricate and little known Sundarban path he succeeded in capturing Pratapaditya alive. Arrangements were at once made to convey the kingly prisoner to Delhi, but he preferred to die by his own hand to the dishonour of being exhibited in a cage, and so committed suicide at Benares by swallowing a poison he had concealed on his person.

My friend, Professor S. C. Mitra, of the Daulatpur College, has thus summarised the life and ideals of Pratapaditya:—"He began his career as a rebel, who fought for his own aggrandisement; but when he was backed by the

cause of the Pathans and their military services he inaugurated a patriotic movement that helped him on to be the master of the situation. But the country was not ripe for such an enterprise. Pratap flourished in a rude age and had to raise up a backward people. A hard task indeed! Besides, being maddened by temporary success, he could not form any clear idea of the heavy responsibilities of the leader of a commonwealth. He committed political blunders that hastened his fall. So he failed and his cause failed too, never to rise again. But the noble and unselfish aims of a patriotic leader invest his achievements with the halo of undying glory and renown."

My studies and researches into the circumstances of Pratapaditya's life and aims lead me, I fear, to conclusions very different from those attained by Professor Mitra. It is impossible to forget the treacherous means by which he obtained possession of his father's kingdom; the treatment he dealt out to women who earned his displeasure; the murder of Carvalho and the indignities and cruelties heaped on the Jesuit priests to whom he at first extended his welcome and protection: the assassination of Basanta, his father's brother. True, every allowance must be made by the student of history for the standard which obtained at the period under consideration, but, even when allowance is made on a most generous scale, it is difficult lightly to pass over these blotches on the record of Pratapaditya. He was a brave man, that is certain sure, but in my considered opinion he was a buccaneer on filibustering intent rather than a patriot actuated by motives disinterestedly pure.

P. LEO FAULKNER.

Khulna.

THEORIES OF POETRY.

BY "GLENER."

GOD created man in His own image and gave him His own peculiar gift. "The word went forth" is the universal account of the origin of Creation, and "the word" is the distinctive gift of God to man. The greatest effort of man has ever been and will ever be to find expression; and that expression which is most general and applicable to all things, which embodies the aspirations of the great majority of sentient beings, has ever been called poetry.

In the beginning of the world, one would think, this expression would have been one of wonder or admiration; for the human mind in its primitive stage would naturally try to express itself in relation to the objects that surround it, just as the child in its first efforts at speaking, tries to find words for the beings or objects with which it comes most in contact—its father, mother and so forth. But wonder is generally the outcome of a sense of mystery in things, an inability to apprehend the proper relation of things to one another. Thus this primitive wonder must have been occasioned in the human mind by the sense of mystery that pervaded the universe around it. And primitive poetry, the poetry of the Heroic Age—the epics and the great Sagas—was the expression of this sense of mystery, of the fascination of half-understood appearances. It is imbued with an idea of the almost overpowering greatness of things. This is what makes the intercourse between man and gods quite natural in Homer; for man thinks himself almost a god at that stage of his mental evolution. In the great Sagas of North-Western Europe again, this same sense of the overpowering mystery of creation finds expression in gods and goddesses who are but the embodiments of the mighty phenomena of Nature—

Thor and Odin—and the fierce cataclysms of Nature—Grendel and the Great Dragon. The predominant feeling that marks this period in human evolution is one of awe.

Then comes a later period when the understanding of man develops to a certain extent and is able to find a sort of consistency in the scheme of things. It is able to piece out, dimly, it is true, but to a certain extent truthfully, the relation between man and external nature, between man and his ultimate object. But this half-understanding is rather unhappy, for nature shows to man at first her terrors and not her charms. He sees her Medusa side and is in danger of being petrified. And here is the birth of tragedy. The one great unity that runs through all the works of the Attic tragedians is their overpowering sense of Fate—of something that had been irrevocably determined by Nature, something against which little man dashes himself and dies, like the bird that wants to escape from its prison to its native wood. This feeling of hostility, of playing at cross-purposes with Nature, is really a result of partial understanding; it culminates in unrelieved and oppressive gloom. For man, being essentially a creature of sympathy, cannot live in an atmosphere of perpetual fight. He must have the joy of fellowship.

Thus far the progress of the human mind from an attitude of wondering bewilderment to one of half-understanding helplessness has been traced. Woe to any nation which stops at this stage of its mental development! But generally this development does not stop here; it goes a step farther. Man's mind gradually evolves a feeling of the full understanding of Nature. It comes to acquire an intelligent appreciation of the aims and objects of Nature and realises that its purposes are not antagonistic but akin and helpful to its own purposes. And this brings with it complete joy—the joy of realisation. This is the feeling that is most observable in the mature literature of any nation.

Thus we see that the human mind (or its literary counterpart, the poetic temperament) gradually develops from ignorance into a full understanding and appreciation of Nature in all her aspects.

With this preface we can now consider a certain theory of poetry which was once at least widely prevalent and which has not even now been completely routed—the theory that poetry is an imitative art and it imitates Nature. Now imitation connotes a distinction between that which imitates and that which is imitated. So this definition of poetry implies that poetry is something different from Nature; but what we have said so far leads us to the conclusion that poetry (which is the expression of the poetic temperament) is not really something which is external to Nature, but really a re-discovery or realisation of Nature; it is indeed Nature made conscious and lyrical (taking “Nature” to embrace all life as manifested in man and external Nature).

Indeed the definition which we are discussing arose from a confusion in the Elizabethan mind between the nature of poetry and the nature of its methods. The Elizabethan critics (fortunately, neither the poets, nor the dramatists) and the poets of the Age of Queen Anne thought that poetry was an accomplishment which helped man to copy in verse certain external manifestations just as a portrait painter makes a delineation of a face by noting down in their order and cogency all the details which go to make the lineaments. They had thus no comprehensive view of the subject, but considered poetry as a more or less mechanical art.

In its methods perhaps one may say that poetry imitates Nature to a certain extent. But here again we must use the term “imitation” carefully. Poetry in order to produce its legitimate effects has to make a careful selection from the material that it finds in Nature. For though all Nature is the province of the poet, he cannot thrust in a single poem all the details that pertain to the object he describes. His object is to awaken in the reader’s mind a certain emotion,

which he can only do by excluding some of the details of the picture; just as in a natural landscape, many details which *are* there, are yet hidden from the eye, with the object, as it seems to us, of producing a soothing harmony and homogeneity in the picture. For instance when Shakspeare is describing Dover Cliff in the famous passage in "Lear" his chief object is to awaken in us a sense of the intense danger of the situation; he wants to make us *feel* that Gloucester is standing on the brink of a fearful precipice. How does he get to work to bring this about? He does not insist on accidental and unnecessary details, on the nature and physical features of the rock, for instance, though that would interest a naturalist, or on the vegetation that may be found upon it or again on its exact altitude. But he works upon a series of parallel and co-ordinated details, all of which go to provoke the same feeling. The fearful height of the Rock which is left intentionally vague, the pigmy-like appearance of the men far below on the beach, the feeling of dizziness which comes over one who looks below from near the brink, and above all the terrible picture of the man *hanging* midway on the rock gathering samphire—what a complicated and at the same time terribly effective picture it is all! This is the work of a great artist, it is something quite different from Nature's handiwork. He makes a careful selection of Nature's material; for Nature is marked by a prodigal profusion in these respects—we feel in her working there is much waste of life and waste of effect.

But (what is more to our purpose), the poet employs *selection*, and, as soon as selection comes in, there is an end of imitations, as has been often pointed out. For in selection you use discretion, while the essence of imitation is diffident servility. So to define poetry as an imitative art is to ignore the life-giving element in it.

There are various manifestations of this process of selection. The two concurrent, though, in a sense, opposite characteristics of Nature are Strength and Fineness. Both

are necessary to all real and living things—without Strength, Fineness would be effeminate, and without Fineness, Strength would be brutal—each by itself being highly disagreeable and untrue to Nature. But, for the achievement of certain artistic effects, the one or the other has to be toned down and concealed (though it must be *present*) as far as possible. For instance in the region of the Forest of Arden all intense passions, such as fierce love and hatred, likes and dislikes, have to be carefully excluded. The proper subjects in such a setting are the milder and softer emotions—the joyous, light-hearted love of Rosalind and Orlando, and the dreamy pleasures of Forest life. But did such sweet things divorced from crude harshness ever exist anywhere outside the fabled Arcadia?

Again for the realisation of the finer poetic feelings, a certain remoteness from time and space is a requisite. Untamed Nature never knew the country where the voice of the nightingale

“ charmed magic casements
Opening on the foam of perilous seas
In faery lands forlorn.”

And when Coleridge sings

“ A damsel with a dulcimer
In a vision once I saw;
It was an Abyssinian maid,
And on her dulcimer she played,
Singing of Mount Abora,”

the damsel he saw is to be found not in Abyssinia alone but in all far-off countries which border on fairyland.

Thus, in all lyric poetry, which concerns itself with ideal emotions in their relation to the poet's self there has to be an element of selection, which clearly establishes that poetry is not a mere imitation of Nature or of anything else.

There is another great quality which makes poetry even independent of Nature. It is its power of vision. The poet, as Carlyle says, is a Vates, a prophet. His appreciation of Nature in which he completely merges himself enables him

to understand, not like the scientist who laboriously threads the maze of Natural phenomena with not very satisfying results, but with a quick-divining intuition, that Nature is constant in her innate principle and can guide man with certainty into the dim path of the Future. Thust the poet concerns himself more with the probable than with the actual. And since the probable is not at all limited, but a vast expanse to which the actual opens the way, the poet concerns himself with that Nature which is never-changing through all its myriad manifestations.

This brings us to the question of Imagination, for Imagination is the soul of poetry and makes the poet the leader of mankind. The Imagination does not create anything, for nothing is literally possible which is not in Nature. But it is the divining-rod that raises up the unembodied shapes of the probable. It is the faculty under whose guidance the mind of the poet makes its selection of artistic material. When the selection is made, the Imagination, by innumerable and striking but always natural combinations, creates airy shapes and forms which were not before, out of the common clay. Great imagination is above all healthy and natural. Otherwise its creations will not be works of art but nightmares. A simple example of the method of working of this faculty is, as Wordsworth himself pointed out, to be found in the famous simile in "The Leech Gatherer."

The object upon which the Imagination works is, as may be gathered from what has been said above, the vast quarry of human emotions which are produced by the working of the mind of man introspectively and upon external Nature. It refines these emotions which are universal in their application because of the fact that the human mind, working upon all objects outside it, recognises its kinship with these and finds joy in the discovery. These refined emotions are rendered even more subtle and delicate by the various moods to which the mind is subject, so much so "the one impulse from the

vernal wood " is multiplied in innumerable ways in its effects, because Nature itself changes with the mind of man, being akin to it. This idea finds immortal expression in "The Lines on Tintern Abbey."

So we may conclude this essay with a definition of poetry which takes into account the above considerations. We may define poetry as the recreator of Nature, working with the Imagination upon the material of Nature, thereby creating innumerable and new poetic realities which are everlasting because of their universal application and which are ever-pleasing because they discover our perennial kinship with all Nature.

"GLEANER."

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

INDIAN NATIONALITY.—By R. N. Gilchrist, M.A.
(Longmans, Green and Co.).

In spite of the many international and supra-national tendencies of the present day, and in spite of the cosmopolitan ideals which we are seeking consciously to foster, there is little doubt that nationality is as dominant a political principle as it has ever been. Nationality is a separating force, but its claims are, of course, most prominently put forward when those making them seek thereby to gain that which shall in time take from nationality all which makes its transcendence impossible. At the present time nationality has been made so fundamental a political principle that it is regarded as a necessary step on the way to the fullest realisation of man's well-being through the state. Future ages may look upon our emphasis on this principle as an error, but we cannot ignore its practical importance, though we may doubt the value of any attempt to assert its permanence. So, to-day, as continually before us we have the claims of Indian nationality, it is necessary for those interested in the welfare of India's political future to examine the difficulties, the inconsistencies, and the possibilities of the situation, for in this supposedly fundamental political principle must be found the justification of India's primary claim of present ability to make good under responsible government.

Professor Gilchrist tackles the question of Indian nationality boldly and examines in detail the leading elements of race diversity, of religious differences, of the multiplicity of languages, and of fundamental caste distinctions. The Indian politician too easily assumes that the nationalism of which he speaks surmounts all difficulties,

pointing to the Hindu-Moslem entente, and to the fact that the Indian Congress has never divided on racial lines. One is the more grateful to Mr. Gilchrist, in consequence, for his careful and scientific survey of the facts.

That India has no bond of unity in race is abundantly clear, but community in this respect is not essential to real national sentiment. But the differences of race are largely reproduced in language, and the language difficulty is likely to be much more formidable. Mr. Gilchrist, in examining this aspect of the problem, shows how there is a tendency towards local nationalisation as distinct from Indian nationalisation, as where there is a demand by many in Bengal for a completely vernacular system of education. Such development would, of course, retard the growth of a national India. But English, since Macaulay's days, has been the accepted medium of education, and by opening the mind of India to the political ideals of the West it has prepared the way for India's political development. Even the most aggressive of nationalists can speak of Indian aspirations as being nourished on English education. But nationality has generally been a destructive force and has flourished best on what it seeks to condemn. There is little doubt that Indian nationalism thrives on its derogation of the British connection, and hence of the English language. In a recent article about the Extremist Congress at Amritsar in December of last year we read :—

“ Another feature of the Congress was that most of the speeches were made in the vernacular, with the result that a large number of non-Punjabi delegates were unable to follow the proceedings ; and whenever speeches were made in English, a strong protest was raised by the local provincial delegates.”

Mr. Gilchrist, viewing the problem dispassionately, sees that English, as it has given positive conviction of unity where the vernaculars would give as positive conviction of diversity, will serve to foster such unity and to bind India more closely in the wider unity of the Empire and of

mankind. It is a practical and valuable thought, but it takes little account of the temper or psychology of the present Indian nationalist mind.

Again it is clear that the carefully regulated policy of religious neutrality pursued by the British Government in India has been a large factor in making possible the apparent transcendence of the formidable barriers presented by religious differences by the Indian nationalism, which is proclaimed. The excesses of revolutionary crime apart, we know there are those who see in nationalism a new Hinduism. But that way danger lies. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report points the warning. "The first duty of the leaders of every party in the state is to unteach partisanship. If the Hindu or the Moslem displays intolerance of the other's religious practices, if the higher castes refuse to admit the children of low castes to schools which their own sons attend, or if caste exclusiveness takes even harsher shape towards the out-castes, it is the business of the enlightened leaders of the community to explain to them that they are only retarding a cause that ought to be dearer to them than their own sectional interests. So long as the latter are paramount, any form of self-government to which India can attain must be limited and unreal at best."

Mr. Gilchrist states his opinion thus—

"Nationality will develop in India not because Hindu, Moslem, Christian and other theologies will fuse, or merge into a new faith, but because a system of rights will be established which will guarantee to the various religious communities their various rights of worship. Nationality may thus develop in spite of religious differences."

So, too, the liberalising influences which are breaking down the restrictions of caste are helping to build up national India. The strengthening of the interest and force of politics in the life of the country is necessarily leading to a modification of rigid social distinctions. Sir Rabintra Nath Tagore puts the matter forcibly when he writes of the error

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of attempting "to build a political miracle of freedom upon the quicksand of social slavery."

Whither does all this lead us? The difficulties, even if ultimately surmountable, are immense. The demand of nationalism in India is something which airily claims to transcend such difficulties. Perhaps it tries to ignore them. And that because it is something spiritual? But all nationality is spiritual. And all nationality is elusive in analysis. The great fact may be put in Mr. Gilchrist's words—

"The cement of the Indian whole is a product of the British connection. The antagonisms of race, language, religion, and social class are set off by a common government, equality before the law, a recognised system of rights, and organisations, both local and central, which help to bring before and keep before the people the common interests on which the state and government rest."

Such a review does not do full justice to Mr. Gilchrist's elaborate study, which is perhaps chiefly valuable for the masterly way in which a great army of facts are marshalled before us. From these facts final judgments are not possible, but they challenge thought, and clear thinking on Indian national problems was never more necessary, for so much unfair criticism is the result of prejudice or ignorance. This book should therefore make a wide appeal.

If one may turn from the weightier matters of the law and pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, one would regret the absence of exact references to the many authorities quoted throughout the text and the lapse from the dignity of the author's fluent style into such blemishes of Anglo-Indianese as "*pucca* Hindus" (p. 85) and "*kucha* English education" (p. 77). But no doubt it is a Western prejudice which asks for purity of diction when Mr. Gilchrist may actually be feeling his way to the solution of the language difficulty of national India.

J. C. KYDD.

PERIODICALS.

THE "INDIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS."—
November, 1919.

The Editor of the *Indian Journal of Economics* has done distinct service by devoting the issue of the Journal of November, 1919, to a record of the proceedings of the first Conference of the Indian Economic Association held in Bombay from 30th December, 1918, to 1st January, 1919. The value of the papers contributed make one desire the speedier publication of the proceedings promised in the decision of the Association to have a Journal of its own.

In December, 1917, Professor Hamilton, then Minto Professor of Economics in the University of Calcutta, convened a gathering of economists in Calcutta. This gathering was representative of all parts of India. The general feeling was that it would be well for such a Conference to meet annually. It was considered that if a Society of Economists in India were organised it could afford special opportunities to those interested in the economic problems of India for discussion and co-operation in study and research ; and that it could, further, be an agency for the dissemination of useful economic information. At the session in Bombay a constitution was accordingly drawn up and adopted.

It is of considerable significance that chief attention was given by the Conference at Bombay to problems of rural and agricultural economics. Dr. Harold Mann, who has done so much to stimulate the accurate, intensive study of rural conditions which is essential to a full understanding of India's fundamental economic problem, read a paper on the efficiency of agricultural labour, in which he endeavoured to reduce the results of a day's ploughing to a definite standard. His conclusions go to show that the efficiency of a man's labour can be very much increased by the adoption of the modern iron plough in place of the ordinary country plough.

Professor Kale of Poona in a study in Village Economics made a plea for co-operation between the unofficial economist and Government officials charged with the duty of carrying out periodical inquiries into the conditions of the rural population. While great gain would result from the grant of readier access to Government records it seems desirable that purely economic inquiries should be carried out unofficially. Dr. Mann's experience supports this view.

Mr. Molony, Commissioner of Agra, submitted a paper pointing out how the Indian cultivator wastes water supplied to him through a canal. The present systems of distribution by direct flow from canals offer no inducement to economy in the use of water. Over-irrigation lessens the produce per acre. He urged the adoption of means for securing proper economy.

A paper by Mr. Sundaram Reddy, Honorary Secretary of the Ryotawari Landholders' Association, Madras, on the Distribution of Agricultural Holdings; a descriptive account, by Professor P. C. Bose of Hazaribagh, of the Rural Life of Chota Nagpur; and a historical study, by Professor P. C. Basu of Indore, of the Earliest Agricultural Organisation in India, along with the other papers already noticed, indicate how largely questions relating to rural organisation bulked in the Conference. Mention should also be made of two papers on the Co-operative Movement,—that by Mr. Ewbank, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies in Bombay Presidency, on "The Co-operative Movement and the Present Famine," and that by Professor Coyajee on "Some Lines of Co-operative Progress." Mr. Ewbank's statement went to show that as an actual agency for famine relief co-operative societies are not likely to prove very effective and are likely to find it as much as they can do to tide themselves over famine without difficulty. But as he also showed this is not to deny their great value as protective agencies against famine.

These papers, however, did not exhaust the material put before this first Conference of the Indian Economic

Association at Bombay. One may be inclined to think that too many papers were offered and that insufficient time was left for discussion. It is understood that the more recent practice of the Association is to have the papers printed in some form before the Conference. Such practice, combined with the definite determination of the topics to be discussed, should give a greatly increased value to the already important deliberations of the Association.

J. C. K.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—January, 1920.

One of the articles in this number which will excite most interest is on "Road Traffic in Great Cities" by Horace Wyatt. Mr. Wyatt lays down the general principle that the interests of the whole community have to be served and not simply the interests of those who are travelling. If the use of slow vehicles for the sake of a low operating cost impedes the rate of transport as a whole, this ultimately means loss to the community as a whole. We must aim at a happy combination of speed, safety and economy. Roads should be divided in imagination at least into three strips and vehicle should be flexible, *i.e.*, capable of passing easily from one strip to another according as their speed varies from high to zero. We are not aware that Mr. Wyatt is familiar with road conditions in Calcutta. Articles of special interest to Scotchmen deal with the economic problems of the Scottish Highlands, and Church Union in Scotland. In the latter difficulties are minimised—as they ought to be: in the former a plea is put forward for afforestation schemes, development of water-power resources, improvement of communications, etc., and all the suggestions are prefaced by a somewhat mournful survey of uneconomic schemes of the past. The article on "Army Education" pleads for a recognition of the fact that soldiers have brains, and for a closer touch—to be established by education—between the soldier and civil life.

Modern Spiritualism" is discussed in a vigorously written article. The writer holds that there will always

be two types of mind, one predisposed to spiritualism and the other opposed, but he holds further that the overwhelming evidence is against spiritualism, and that its alleged phenomena are capable of explanation in other ways. The article on "China and the Powers" gives an outline of the policy which created the situation immediately before the war.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.—January, 1920.

Principal Forsyth, who is a frequent writer in this review, contributes the first article, and discusses, in his somewhat difficult style, the question whether the Church prolongs the Incarnation of Christ. He answers the question in the negative, and shows that the Church is the effect rather than the continuation of the Incarnation, and that the attempt to interpret the Church as the Incarnation prolonged is of a piece with the tendency to mystical doctrine which rests salvation upon metaphysical identity rather than upon ethical obedience. No less than three articles are devoted to Wesleyan topics. Mr. Eveleigh surveys a little known field, that of Methodist literature in South Africa, and presents an astonishing array of publications. The great French philosophical writer, M. Emile Boutnoux, contributes an article of expected ability, of which one of the main ideas is a clearly worked out distinction between education and instruction. Sir Percy Scott's recently published book on "Fifty Years in the Navy" is reviewed at considerable length and with great selective ability by the Rev. John Telford. The discussions and reviews in this number are of the usual high quality.

THE INDIAN ACADEMY OF ART.

This new quarterly periodical is published with a view to interesting the Indian public in the work of Indian artists. It is beautifully printed on excellent paper, and the price is moderate, Rs. 2-4 a copy.

The January number contains a dozen full page illustrations, some coloured and all admirably produced. The illustrations show the trend of artistic effort and development among Indian artists and are thus an interesting study. Such work as 'A Divine Moment' exhibits strength and originality, and one sees in it a prophecy of the future of Indian painting. The feeling is Indian and is tenderly expressed, and both line and colour are harmonious. The method owes something perhaps to Japan in the flatness of effect and simplicity of background, but the subject is such as can best be expressed by an imagination strongly tinged with Indian tradition.

'Day Dreams,' and to a lesser extent, 'Manas Kamal' and "Murali Shiksha," though executed with ease, reveal a danger, ever present to painting, of developing a mere "pretty, pretty" school. This charge was made against a good deal of XIXth century painting in England, and British Art has had to work hard to escape from the blight. Let the Indian artist be warned in time lest art deteriorate into mere 'fancy work.'

'Gypsy Beggars' and 'Beggar' are fine examples of picturesque photography, for which India provides an inexhaustible field.

The articles deal with the technique and history of art. Proof reading and editing require more care than they have received. On such a page and with such clear type one looks for correct English. The humour of the notes under *Palette Wash* does not, in our opinion, add to the artistic or literary value of the publication.

We wish "The Indian Academy of Art" all success.

A. R. M.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS.

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ENGLAND'S INDIAN POLICY.*

BY E. F. OATEN.

HERODOTUS said that Egypt was the gift of the Nile. Using a similar metaphor we may say that ancient and mediæval India was the product of the north-west passes, as modern India is that of the seas that wash her coasts. The dark, short-statured, snub-nosed aborigines of ancient India blended with the light-coloured, tall, long-nosed Aryan invading strangers who entered India from the north-west, century after century, till in the course of a millennium or two a new civilisation and a new people were born from the mingling. History first tells us how the ancient Hindu people, in addition to the religion of Brahmanism which they professed, evolved another even more famous Buddhism. It tells us, too, how this early Hindu race in India, besides suffering the miseries of internal war between its various kingdoms, suffered further invasions from the north-west, at the hands of Greeks, Scythians and Huns. Invasions from the north-west passes are a constant feature of Indian history from the earliest times till the twentieth century A.D., the last, however, that of 1919 A.D., having been fortunately stopped at its inception. India was ultimately strengthened rather

* This paper contains the substance of the concluding lecture of a series (on Indian history) delivered in Fort William before Brig.-Gen. Younghusband, (late) G. O. C., Presidency Brigade, and the officers and men of the garrison of Fort William (Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry), in accordance with a scheme for the instruction of newly arrived British troops, introduced recently by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

than weakened by these earlier invasions, just as the decaying Roman Empire, or rather its different fragments, were ultimately invigorated by the incursion and settlement in Europe of Goths and Franks and Lombards. The English stock is strong and not weak, as a result of Danish and Norman invasion. So Greek and Scythian and Hun, in so far as they settled in India, mingled with the people, adopted the Hindu religion, and became Rajput and Jat and Maratha, etc., and to this stock India's army owes much of its *personnel* and valour. In this mixed stock, and in such wide expanses of continent, unity, political or social, was difficult. But though such empires as arose like the Maurya, and that of the Guptas, were but partial, and extremely short-lived, religion, which even in its various forms in India had a common basis of philosophy and faith, was a unifying factor; and in 1000 A.D., though India was in no sense a political unity, there seemed no reason why she should not develop ultimately into a great united empire like that of Rome, or into a number of national kingdoms like modern Europe.

Then came the cardinal event in India's history, the incursion and settlement of a civilisation and a religion perennially hostile to the type of civilisation and religion represented by Hinduism. The two civilisations, the two religions, fought for political mastery in India, and the Moslem won. And in so winning, the Mussalman, whether invader or converted Hindu, won his birthright in India. The verdicts of history are seldom revised, after a certain period, on appeal to the High Court of Time; no one challenges my right to call myself English because perchance I may be Norman or Dane; the German Alsatian who became French in the sixteenth century has remained French. And so neither the Hindu brooding over the glories of ancient Hindu India, nor we English in fully appreciating those glories, must forget that the Indian Mussalman is as fully a citizen of India, "bone

of its bone and flesh of its flesh," as the Hindu. Nearly all Indian Moslems are descended from converted Hindus; Indian Islamic civilisation, at first an exotic import, has taken root in the sacred soil, and drawn much of its life-blood from it. Thus, then, formerly by his victories at Tarain and Talikota,¹ but later more by right of prescription and birth, the Indian Moslem won his birthright. And for a time, more than his birthright; for he became for centuries a dominant race and culture; and eventually a great empire, not of all, but of more than half, India grew up, in which monarch and governing class were Moslem, and the subjects Hindu. Hindu rajahs lived on in full independence in the south only; in the north they were either suppressed, or survived with limited powers. After a hundred and fifty years of brilliance, marked by Akbar's vain attempt to unite the two cultures on the basis of a common Indian patriotism, and, if possible, of a common Indian religion, the empire of the Moguls, short-lived like all Indian empires, broke into fragments.

The decay of power at the top merely released the mutually antagonistic forces of social and political hate which have since 1000 A.D. seethed beneath the crust of empire, or with the removal of empire, have shot up, their molten stream of civil strife. Maratha and Moslem leapt to tear each other's throat; once more Islam came through the north-west passes to help her co-religionists and to slay "idolaters"; and on the fatal field of Panipat in 1761 A.D. the heart's blood of India, both Hindu and Mussalman, flowed in such a deadly stream, that her strength was withered, and there was no longer hope nor faith in the land. India lost faith in India; anarchy and murder and robbery stalked unchecked in every direction, and no one had strength or courage to stay them; tigers multiplied where villagers had lived out their uneventful

¹ 1192 A.D. and 1565 A.D. respectively. The first won North India, the second South India, for Islam.

days in earlier times of peace ; jungle began to re-occupy many of the clearings man had so painfully won from the forest ; Moslem and Hindu civilisation alike decayed. Thug and dacoit and brigand chief became normal features of the country side ; governments were robbers and the friends of robbers ; political honesty was almost unknown ; every man's hand was against every man's hand ; law was the arbitrary decision of the strong man ; to be obscure, and to seem poor, were the only paths of safety for the weak ; finally, war without, as well as war within, ravaged and decimated the land. In such appalling tempests did the Indian ship of state drift apparently to utter ruin in that terrible century of Indian history, the 18th ; when suddenly, apparently from nowhere, a hand was shot out, the tiller was grasped with firm and skilled grip, such as it had not known for a hundred years ; and the ship, sailing across a tumultuous ocean, upon a new course, eventually reached a haven of peace and calm such as it had never before known. And so firm was the grasp and so skilled the guidance, when it sailed the sea once more, that even the terrible "wind" of 1857 could only stagger and not sink the ship, while the more awful catastrophe of 1914 caused scarcely a tremor to pass through its timbers.

In brief, and to end the metaphor, India, sick and worn out and on the point of death, put her destinies in the hands of mysterious strangers, who in the early 17th century had suddenly appeared from the sea, and had ever since been creating great cities on her coasts, and amassing wealth by buying and selling goods within her bounds, wealth which in the distracted condition of the country they took good care to protect by force. Half unwillingly, but seeing no other refuge, India accepted the tutelage ; wholly unwillingly, at first, though later with increasing pride and willing acceptance of the burden, the strangers, mere merchants, mere company of traders as they were, took up the amazing task which fate had

set them, of giving 300,000,000² men a government which would enable them to live. Such was the genesis of that astonishing phenomenon, the British Indian Empire. It is a marvel that a company of traders should have founded such a mighty empire; but it happened because India's history demanded that it should be done, and there was no one else on the spot to do it.

It is obvious that the process was no mere vulgar conquest of one country by another, as was the case when Spain conquered Mexico, or the Turks conquered Greece. England was never at war with India,³ India was never conquered by England. Conquest of some Indians by British armies there certainly was, but in most cases when conquest was open and undisguised, the sufferers were brigand states who lived by the plunder of their neighbours, and whose government was based on principles utterly incompatible with the ultimate good of India,⁴ and in whose suppression Indians willingly joined. In almost every battle which the English fought, there were more Indians than Englishmen in our armies; even in the crisis of the Mutiny, Delhi was captured by a force in which Indians predominated; Lucknow was defended by a force, mainly Cornishmen and Sikhs, in which, excluding officers and civilians, the Indian element was numerically superior; while Sir Hugh Rose recovered Central India with two regiments of Irishmen and four or five times their number of Madras and Bombay troops.⁵ When the Mutiny broke out there were six times as many Indian troops as British in the Indian army; I do not know the figures

² In 1700 A.D. perhaps less than half this number. Population has come with peace.

³ The idiotic folly of Sir Josiah Child, Chairman of the Company, which, uniting in 1685 with the folly of James II caused a British naval attack on Chittagong, and a sort of war with Aurangzib, may be regarded as half an exception to this statement. Sir Josiah aimed at "laying the foundation of a large, well-guarded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come." The farcical result goes to show that we English only build empires well when we build them without design.

⁴ e.g., The Maratha Confederacy, Tippoo Sultan's Mysore, the Pindaris, etc.

⁵ European Artillery and Cavalry details, numerically few, are not included in this broad statement. The two European regiments were the 3rd Bombay European Fusiliers, now the 2nd Battalion Leinster Regiment, and the 86th Regiment (Royal Country Downs). See Forrest: "History of the Indian Mutiny," III, p. 149.

for the recent great war, but the proportion was probably at one time a good deal greater. If India is a conquered country, it is conquest of a very peculiar type, seeing that the "conqueror's" armies are mainly composed of the "conquered." Did ever "conquered" people voluntarily raise a million troops to fight for their masters? No; once for all we must disabuse our minds of any idea that India belongs to England, in the sense that Greece belonged to Turkey, or Mexico to Spain, after the conquest of those two countries. The British Indian Empire has undoubtedly in the past constituted a political domination of Indians by Englishmen; but it has been a domination largely acquiesced in by Indians, and loyally maintained by Indian bayonets.

This very peculiar type of "conquest" having taken place, the very difficult problem arose as to the principles on which this Empire should be administered. There were from the beginning, and there are still, men who said, or say: "The country is ours; we took it; we are a conquering race and an imperial people; here we are, here we stay, ruling India for ever." This robust type of thinker, with his clear-cut non-compromising views, tended of course to increase at the time of the Mutiny, and theories about conquering and subject races tended to receive considerable utterance. The problem, simply put, was: "Shall we rule India as a perpetually subject country? Shall we regard ourselves, and act, as conquerors? Shall we, if the worst ever comes to the worst, disband all Indian regiments, and protect government and the frontiers with English troops only?"

Well, Aristotle said that the state comes into existence to make life possible. This has been accomplished by the creation of the British Empire, and the rescue of the country from anarchy. He added that the state continues in order to make life better. Now, most thinking Indians were ready to admit that the creation of the British Empire had been a

necessity ; but for it India would have perished in anarchy ; the question for them was : " Shall it continue, and on what terms ? " It was unlikely that once they had time to think, they would regard the status of a perpetually subject race as a satisfactory result of the continuance of the empire. If they were to be induced to favour its continuance, it must " make life better " for them in some other fashion than that ! This empire, therefore, having been partly built with Indian bayonets, and to some extent resting on them, even in 1857, some more satisfactory ideal of Indian government than the relation of conqueror and conquered had to be discovered. As a matter of fact, not only did the relationship of conqueror and conquered never exist, at least in all its nakedness, but it has never really dominated the minds of the majority of Englishmen. For one thing, stated starkly as it was just now, the idea is too patently absurd. There are 300 million Indians, many of them fighters by race and tradition. There have never been, and there are not to-day, more than 200,000 Englishmen in all India, including the army. The number is probably a good deal less. A sheer policy of domination would have demanded the services of a professional army of at least that number, and so many could never have been recruited for foreign service from England. A further point to be remembered is that liberty and liberal ideas are rooted in our history and traditions, and a stark policy of domination could never have long obtained support from people and Parliament in England. No ; though, from the very beginning, owing to the fact that all the governments we replaced were despotisms, our government had to be of an autocratic nature, yet our history and the logic of the facts themselves forbade any such simple solution of the problem of Indian government as that implied in the relation of conqueror and conquered. There was destined to be no British Great Mogul. The British Parliament saw to that.

What policy, then, did we adopt? Put simply, we adopted an "Indian policy," *i.e.*, we ruled India in the way which we considered was most beneficial to Indians. We placed, in theory at least, and very often in practice, the interests of India before those of England. A Parliamentary Committee in 1833 laid it down as "an indisputable principle, that the interests of the Native Subjects are to be consulted in preference to those of Europeans, whenever the two come in competition."⁶ The Act of 1833 which followed laid it down that all posts under the Company, without exception, were open to Indians, if they were fitted for them.⁷ It has been well asked what parallel in all history there is to this. To use the words of Bentinck, written twenty-nine years before, in 1804, British policy aimed at founding "British Greatness upon Indian Happiness."⁸

In pursuance of this policy, Britain has done her best to create an Indian patriotism, even as Akbar had attempted, though our methods were different. We had, even more successfully than Akbar, unified India politically; in place of the effete monarchy of the Moguls, upstart, and parvenu, we gave India an Emperor whose authenticated lineage was older than Muhammadan India, or even Islam, itself, and whose empire was the vastest the world has known. India found a new pride, which was not yet patriotism, in the Empire of which she was a component part, and, accepting the empire as a political necessity, aimed at improving her status within that empire. By the steady and constant gratification of that aim, India's self-respect, the necessary basis of an Indian patriotism, has been increasingly raised.

Political unity was maintained by force, a force which was largely Indian force. But the creation of social

⁶ See Ramsay Muir's "Making of British India," p. 305

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 304

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

and cultural unity, also a necessary basis for a sane Indian patriotism, was a far harder task, and only a certain amount of progress has been made. We too, like Akbar

Reared a sacred fane,
A temple, neither Pagod, Mosque nor Church,
But loftier, simpler, always open-doored
To every breath from Heaven.

“Stone by stone” we have tried to rebuild India on the basis, not, like Akbar, of a common religion, but of a common culture and civilisation. In the hope of promoting the growth of that culture and civilisation we have spread over India a network of universities, colleges and schools, in which English literature and Western science are taught through the medium of the English language. The reaction of India, especially Hindu India, to this stimulus has been immense; and though it would be too much to say that the two traditional cultures have been displaced or even essentially modified by the new, there seems a fair hope that Hindu and Muhammadan civilisation in India, at present so different, may absorb enough of the new culture to enable them to meet on the common basis which must be found if a real Indian nation is ever to develop from the chaos of states and languages and peoples which now rest unified by the strong arm of the existing government. In the universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, etc., and in her schools, lies without doubt the hope of modern India; for in proportion as they can extend the spirit of toleration, co-operation, and sound patriotism, among her sons of different cultures and faiths, will India be fit for the new era which is about to commence.

In the path of our task of unifying India, socially and spiritually, lay many difficulties. The Moslem, so recently the ruler of India, was averse from the idea of political and social co-operation with the Hindu. Between the Moslem and the Hindu, the gulf of religion yawns deeper

than it is possible for us westerners to conceive.⁹ Again possessing a culture of which they were prouder and more confident fifty years ago than the Hindu was of his own at that time, they held aloof somewhat from the new English culture, which the Hindu eagerly absorbed. 'From this attitude the Moslems were to some extent weaned by the life-work of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the founder of Aligarh College. But Sir Syed's words themselves bear testimony to the social and political gulf between the two communities that yet remained to be bridged in India, though his life did something towards that end :

"Suppose that all the English were to leave India, who would be ruler of India? Is it possible that under those circumstances Muhammadans and Hindus could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power? Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. You must remember that although the number of Muhammadans is less than that of the Hindus and although they contain far fewer people who have received a high English education, yet they must not be thought insignificant or weak. Probably they would be by themselves enough to maintain their own position. But suppose they were not. Then our Mussalman brothers, the Pathans, would come out as a swarm of locusts from their mountain valleys—like a swarm of locusts would they come,—and make rivers of blood to flow from their frontier on the north to the extreme end of Bengal. This thing—who after the departure of the English would be conquerors—would rest on the

⁹ So deep is the chasm between Islam and Hinduism that Major Loch states that the war between Turkey and the Entente was a religious war only to the extent that the Moslem Turk gave no quarter to the "infidel" Hindu in the British army. ("With the British Army in the Holy Land," p.146.)

will of God. But until one nation had conquered the other and made it obedient, peace could not reign in the land. This conclusion is based on proofs so absolute that no one can deny it Be not unjust to the British Government, to whom God has given the rule of India. And look honestly, and see what is necessary for it to do to maintain its empire and its hold on the country. You can appreciate these matters ; but they cannot who have never held a country in their hands nor won a victory. O ! my brother Mussalmans ! I again remind you that you have ruled nations, and have for centuries held different countries in your grasp. For seven hundred years in India you have had Imperial sway. You know what it is to rule. Be not unjust to that nation which is ruling over you. And think also on this, how upright is her rule. Of such benevolence as the English Government shows to the foreign nations under her there is no example in the history of the world."¹⁰

One great difficulty during our task has been the impossibility of reconciling the claims that were naturally and inevitably made by the educated Indian with the political necessities of the situation. When the Indian had been to our universities, and learnt our language, he naturally asked us to employ him in the public service of his country. We were very glad to do so. For had not the Act of 1833 said that qualified Indians were to be eligible for all posts under the Company? Had not Queen

¹⁰ Quoted in Strachey's "India Its Administration and Progress," p. 500. Hindu and Moslem have travelled a considerable distance on the road to unity and toleration since Sir Syed spoke these words some thirty odd years ago. But reliance on the Afghan and the Pathan as a factor in the race struggle in India is by no means out of the picture in Indian politics as yet, as the newspapers have recently shown. The very fact, that some still look to the Amir as a possible assisting agent in India's political uplift an idea utterly repugnant to Hindus—shows how weak a plant is Indian patriotism and nationalism even to-day. For the hillman of the North-West is India's eternal enemy "in sæcula sæculorum."

Victoria's proclamation after the Mutiny contained the following sentence : " It is our further will, that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race and creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge ? " But presently they came along in larger and larger numbers, and claimed to be given the high posts in the country instead of Englishmen. Now came the difficulty.

There are in all India about 3,000,000 civil posts under Government, petty and otherwise. Indians hold nearly all of them. Of these posts, however, some few thousand odd may be regarded as superior appointments, the holders of which have some influence on the government of the country. These superior posts the English have mainly reserved in their own hands. Only about one-sixth of them have they felt able to give to Indians. The educated Indian comes along and says : " Give us the other five-sixths ; we are quite fitted by education and integrity for them ; why import Englishmen on high salaries to do work which we are quite able and anxious to do ? " What answer is government to give ? It gives all sorts of answers and reasons, but the real answer is this : " The Indian Empire is a British Empire ; it is ruled according to British ideals of administration and justice ; you all want the British army to stay to keep the frontiers and the peace of the country, but we cannot contemplate the British army staying in India and backing up methods of government of which we cannot approve ; and this will be the case unless a large proportion of the high posts, which decide policy, are in the hands of Englishmen. You cannot ask for the constant help of British bayonets, and do without British officials. Therefore we cannot possibly give you all the high posts ; we must have enough to give a British character to the administration ; we will give you one-sixth or a quarter and so on." The latest offer contained

in the famous "Report" of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State is one-third rising to one-half. There is the dilemma. The educated Indian is willing to provide all the administrators needed; he is unable to provide, or at any rate, to control, the army which he needs to defend his country, and enforce his orders. Nor can he provide or afford a navy to defend his coasts. England must at present provide that too.

This brings me to another point. The Indian army was from the beginning an army of Indian peasants officered by English gentlemen. The Indian aristocracy found no place in our armies, except rarely in the Indian officer class which held the Viceroy's, not the King's, Commission, and whose responsibilities and training were not those of commissioned officers, whatever number of stars they might wear. As an Indian officer said to me once; "The French told us in France: 'Your stars are false stars, your crown a make believe!'" The army being, as said above, an army of peasants, including those of them who rose to be Indian officers (the normal method of promotion), made for itself but little demand for admission to the Officers' Mess. But the politicians, when modern political life began in India, demanded that King's Commissions should be awarded to Indians, chiefly of course of the aristocratic or educated classes. The difficulties raised by this demand were immense. How could the harmonious social and professional life of the Officers' Mess continue if such socially alien elements were introduced into it? The unity of the officers' cadre would be broken, for very few Indian recruits would be able to share in the life of the mess. They would perhaps be debarred by caste from eating at all in any Englishman's presence. Their wives as a rule could take no part in the social life of a regiment. But these were minor difficulties. If the recruit were a Bengali or a Sikh, should he be put to command Panjabi Mussalmans or Gurkhas or Madrasis?

In our mixed regiments it would be impossible to confine him to his own countrymen, and yet, if this were not done, serious consequences might ensue. Then again, supposing these difficulties surmounted, was your British Subaltern or Captain to enter battle under the command of an Indian Major? Unless your Indian was very carefully selected, it might result in the Britisher taking charge in a crisis, with disastrous results on general discipline. In the early days of the experiment disciplinary difficulties might occur, with bad results to the moral of the army. Again would British officers join the Indian army, if it meant that they would be obliged to serve under Indian officers? All the considerations arose and had to be weighed regarding the proposed experiment. The difficulties were for long regarded as insuperable and little was done; nor can the question be regarded as satisfactorily solved yet. But during the crisis of the Great War it was resolved to make a start, and a number of Indians were promoted for good service, and given King's Commissions as Lieutenants and Captains. In addition a number of selected young men, mostly of good birth, have been chosen and sent to England for training there, and at the close of their studies they will be given commissions in the Indian army. Thus one more step, even though as yet it be on a limited scale, has been taken towards administering India in accordance with Indian desires, and raising the self-respect of the King's subjects in India. An efficient Indian officer cadre in India will cause many problems to be handled from a radically different point of view from that which is necessary at present.

Such then is the extent, to which, so far, in the pursuance of our "Indian policy," our policy of conciliating Indians, of ruling the country and acting, as far as possible, in accordance with their wishes, we have been able to comply with two of their main demands, for civil administrative posts and for commissions in the army. We

have been unable to give them anything like all they have demanded. Our reply has been that if we did, anarchy would break out in the country, and British Government would end, in fact all government would end.

In other directions, not so controversial, our "Indian policy" has conferred vast benefits on the country. The anarchy of the eighteenth century had to a very considerable extent de-civilised India, and it fell to Englishmen to be the agents of a belligerent civilisation in the country. Female infanticide, which was extremely common in certain parts, was stopped. *Sati*, the custom by which wives burnt themselves on the dead bodies of their husbands, was forbidden by Lord Bentinck in 1829. Child-marriage, though it cannot be forbidden, is discouraged, and child wives may not co-habit below the age of 12. Law was made one and the same for all. If the Brahmin commits murder, he is hanged alike with the Pariah. Widow re-marriage was made legal in 1856, though few widows are as yet able to take advantage of the provision, owing to social customs. Hospitals and schools, universities, railways, telegraphs and a cheap postal system have helped to unify and spread knowledge throughout the country. Within the borders of India no war has taken place since 1857, a statement which can be made of only five or six countries in the world. The administration of justice has been organised, largely with the help of Indian judges, throughout the whole country. Famines have been fought by relief measures and their miseries alleviated. Irrigation canals have reclaimed vast tracts of Indian land from sterility for the benefit of the Indian people. Above all England has given India unity and an opportunity of becoming a nation. She has given her a language, English, which enables all educated Indians to communicate their ideas to one another, a thing which prior to our coming was impossible. There is not, there never has been, any such people as the Indian nation. A country consisting of eight

or nine nations speaking totally different languages, and 144 separate dialects, ranging in colour from almost white to almost black, divided utterly by cleavages of caste and religion and social customs, differing more from one another in different parts of India than the Scotsman does from the Turk or the Swede from the Spaniard, such a country and such a people cannot be called a nation. It contains the near potentialities of eight or nine nations, it contains the very distant potentiality of one great nation. But the realised actuality of nationhood it possesses not at all, and so far as the potentiality of an Indian nationality exists, it is the work of the English Government, of British railways and schools and universities, of the English language, of English-made or English-administered law; and, since Indian nationality is only a potentiality an embryo barely as yet even conceived, so there still remains the necessity for the work that is creating it to go on for some considerable time yet. For it is a fact that the English could not leave India if they desired; there is no authority capable of controlling the country to which they could hand over the administration on their departure; there is not an Indian living who does not know that if the British departed, or even greatly relaxed their ultimate power in the land, "chaos would come again like a flood." So the problem, which has been gradually approached, now at last comes clearly before us. The result of the removal of British rule being certain to be a relapse of India into eighteenth century anarchy, followed almost certainly by foreign conquest by another power, are the British therefore destined to remain rulers of India for ever? Are we to contemplate the presence of a British army in India, and of British officials in the most important posts of the land, as a state of things likely to continue for ever, or at least for several centuries?

In other words what are our ultimate intentions in India? For hundreds of years no one knew. A very

early expression of opinion was that of Sir Josiah Child, who in 1685 A.D. professed his desire for "a large well-grounded sure English dominion in India for all time to come." But that premature dream was soon dispelled and the dreamer received well-merited chastisement at the hands of Aurangzib. A hundred years later Warren Hastings left India, however, with the foundation of a well-grounded dominion well and truly laid, and men might now begin to speculate on England's ultimate intentions regarding her fine new empire. Most administrators, however, were content to do the task that lay nearest at hand, without speculating on ultimate issues; like Bentinck, they were content to found "British greatness on Indian happiness," by extending "justice and order and the consideration of public and private rights."¹¹ But some there were even a hundred years ago who looked, or rather peered, towards ultimate aims. Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras in 1820-27, asked the following question: "Are we to be satisfied with merely securing our power and protecting the inhabitants, leaving them to sink gradually in character lower than at present; or are we to endeavour to raise their character, and to render them worthy of filling higher situations in the management of their country, and of devising plans for its improvement?" Hear the remarkable answer which Sir Thomas gave to his own question. We must, he said, "give them a higher opinion of themselves, by placing more confidence in them, by employing them in important situations, and perhaps by rendering them eligible to almost every office under Government." "We must maintain our Government only until that future age when the Indians shall have abandoned most of their superstitions and prejudices, and become sufficiently enlightened, to frame a regular government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it. Whenever such a time shall arrive, it will probably be best for both

¹¹ See Ramsay Muir's "Making of British India," p. 283.

countries that British control over India should be gradually withdrawn. . . . If we pursue steadily the proper measures, we shall in time so far improve the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves." ¹²

Such was the ideal set before our countrymen a hundred years ago. In three years we celebrate the centenary of that marvellous pronouncement of England's policy. It was not an official pronouncement; it was one man's private conclusions. But it is worthy of attention as a very extraordinary expression of liberal thought at such an early date. Sir Thomas's words are miles apart not only from the aspirations after "sure grounded dominion for all time to come" of 1685, but from the most advanced ideals of hundreds of noble-hearted and devoted Anglo-Indian workers in this the twentieth century. When I first came to India not so very long ago, there were probably many who felt secretly the truth of Munro's ideal, but few who, in the uncertainty as to what Britain's official policy was, would have dared to utter their views. Was it our policy in 1910 gradually to withdraw British control, as India grew more enlightened, or was it not? There lay the crux.

Well, anyhow, as is our way, our national custom, we did gradually withdraw our control, while all the time strenuously denying the fact. Village councils, district boards, legislative assemblies, executive bodies more or less filled by Indians came into existence, and took over many of the functions, or at least affected the working, of Government. Indians were not satisfied; they wanted to know what our intentions were; they cried out for self-government, for home-rule, a government like Canada, etc. A so-called National Congress met annually, representing modern educated India, and told Government once a year what modern educated India wanted.

Then came the crisis of the great war. India voluntarily gave England an army of a million men ; she voluntarily gave England such money as she could afford ; she remained loyal (with one or two very minor exceptions) when revolt would have embarrassed us fatally. India proved once for all in 1914-19 that she is not a conquered and subject country. She claimed and proved her birth-right as an adopted daughter of the commonwealth. She was not of the blood, like Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia ; but she shared sufficiently in the privilege of British subjects to see to it, alike with the other countries of the Empire,

“ In the day of Armageddon, in the last great fight of all
That our House stand together, and the pillars do not fall.” ¹³

And so her million fighters went forth to France and Palestine and the banks of the Tigris, to East Africa, and Greece, to fight for—for what ? For the Sircar, for Government, for pay, for glory, for a hundred motives, but actually for England, for Belgium, for the right of the peoples of the world to develop on principles of self-government and self-expression, free from the tyranny of despots and war-lords. And when, in return, India, through her politicians, asked England for some portion of the boon which her soldiers had won for others, it was felt that, terrible though the risks were which beset the path of change, India must be given that self-government for which her leaders had so long been asking. Munro's policy of raising India's self-esteem must be carried yet further, for India believed she had shewn herself fit for further trust, and any refusal to grant that further confidence would be as a blow in the face in return for a proffered gift. Nay more, it was decided even to face the problem of the gradual withdrawal of British control which scarcely anyone since Munro had dared to mention.

¹³ Kipling's "Song of the English."

On 20th August 1917 the most momentous utterance in the history of India was made in Parliament. The great war was still raging, its issue was still doubtful ; India was, however, still flinging her men by tens of thousands into a struggle not her own. With one hand India gave and gave generously ; the other she held out in anticipation for the expected gift. England was grateful, in the midst of her agony, to India ; she was in the mood for generosity ; while, quite apart from gratitude and generosity, refusal would have left us with the insoluble problem of India's unwilling participation in an Empire which had nothing to offer her which she considered of value. It was not yet time to withdraw British control ; India as a whole did not as yet ask for this ; but a further step towards that end, it was felt, had to be, and was, taken. For by their sound common sense in the war, Indians had shown that they were one degree nearer to that time when they would be fitted "to frame a regular government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it." ¹⁴

This most momentous utterance in the history of India was the following :—

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." ¹⁵

Indians accepted the pronouncement as their Magna Carta, their charter of liberty. Not that they had been slaves before ; England ruled them on principles similar to those they had always known, though in better fashion. But in the past century they had learnt much from England,

¹⁴ Passage from Sir Thomas Munro quoted above.

¹⁵ "Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms," p. 1.

especially her precious ideal of governments elected by and responsible to the people. England now proclaimed her intention to let India ultimately possess a government like Canada or Australia, a government elected by the people, and responsible to the people, of India. As Canada is a free self-governing people proud to remain within the Empire, so India should be given the opportunity of developing into a self-governing country, a component part of the Empire, but no more ruled by Englishmen than Canada or Australia are. How far this postulates and implies "the withdrawal of British control" I need not now discuss; so long as a British army is needed by India, and it will be needed for a long time yet, some control, and some British officials, will be needed. The future must be left to work out its own problem. For the present two main steps have been taken to carry out the policy outlined. It has been decided that for the present one-third and within ten years a half of all newly appointed higher officials in India should be Indians by birth; while it has been decided also that Indian parliaments shall be elected this year and shall through a minister supported by them control a number of departments of government such as Education, Agriculture, Local Self-government, and so on. Englishmen working in those departments will be subject to the orders of the Indian minister. By watching how Indian parliaments and ministers carry on these functions of government it will be seen how far Indians are fitted for governing themselves on western methods. Meantime certain important matters, essential to the safety of the country, such as the defence of the country, and police work, are not being handed over to Indians. Whether they ever get control of the more important branches of government, will depend on how they carry out those at present entrusted to them.

This process outlined here does really imply the beginning of that gradual withdrawal of British control

which Munro suggested a hundred years ago. Indians are more enlightened now than a hundred years ago, largely as a result of British government and training; and we are to-day watching undoubtedly the beginning of that process of withdrawal. In the absence of political cataclysms the liberal party in Indian politics represented a hundred years ago by Munro, later by Lord Ripon and to-day by Lord Morley and still more by Mr. Montagu, may be regarded as having definitely triumphed.

In view of these facts, that India is more and more, both in the army and the civil departments of administration, going to provide her own officers and control her own destinies, it may be asked: "What is an Englishman's duty to-day?" The answer lies in the word "gradual" in the pronouncement. It talks of the "gradual development of self-governing institutions." In all probability we shall not live to see them fully developed. India is not, and will not perhaps for decades, be ready for the full draught of the wine of liberty, parliamentarianism, and self-government. She will not in one generation attain the status and the full stature of a fully autonomous state like Canada. Some tutelage and support there must be for many years. The country is full of lawless and anarchic elements, of smouldering jealousies and communal hatreds,¹⁶ which will ruin utterly any development that is not gradual. With the slow and steady success of the experiment, Indian patriotism, Indian national feeling, will grow until the danger which is at present very real of the experiment being wrecked by internal dissension, is no longer acute. Indian self-government is difficult because there is as yet no real homogeneous "self" to do the governing. There is as yet no real Indian "nation," before whose sacred shrine every Indian head is ready to bow. Our task therefore is at present a two-fold one. British soldiers have to co-operate with their comrades in the

¹⁶ *Vide* the anti-Mussalman riots in Bihar in 1917, and the Calcutta disturbances of 1918. I pass by more recent events.

Indian army in defending India from foreign invasion, a danger which is always very real, as the events of 1919 showed. They have also to ensure, by their mere presence, but by action if necessary, that order is kept in India while the great experiment of seeing whether India is fit for western methods of government is made. British civilians, whether servants of Government or not, have to give all the assistance within their power, which sympathy, expert knowledge, and wider acquaintance with the spirit and methods of self-government, enable them to offer to their Indian brethren in tackling the great experiment. So, soldiers and civilians alike, they await the rise of the curtain upon the unknown future, prepared still, as ever, to do the task that lays to hand, different though it is for what they have done before. The experiment may perhaps succeed beyond our wildest dreams; if so, it undoubtedly means the gradual withdrawal of British control, and incidentally, in the distant future, of the British army; it may, on the other hand, fail, and result in chaos and anarchy. In the latter event, there will be work for the British for many years to come of the kind which they have performed ever since the eighteenth century, that of co-operating with Indians in maintaining or restoring peace and order in the land.

But I prefer to end not on the note of distrust and gloom, but of hope. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their report on the problem involved have talked of "the faith that is in us," as the mainspring of future efforts for India; and we, soldiers and civilians alike, may join with them in hope for the future. "England," they write, "may be proud of her record in India. She should have even greater reason to be proud of it in future. Because the work already done has called forth in India a new life, we must found her government on the co-operation of her people, and make such change in the existing order as will meet the needs

of the more spacious days to come, not ignoring the difficulties, nor underestimating the risks, but going forward with good courage in the faith that because our purpose is right it will be furthered by all that is best in the people of all races in India." ¹⁷ Such words of faith and hope are grander and nobler, at the present juncture in India's history, than forebodings of pessimism and distrust. By all the lessons of our history, by all the ideals which we hold dear, we are bound to try to rear, like Akbar, a temple—a political temple of a magnificence and deep spirituality such as Akbar never even dreamed of. For that is what we are doing; we are seeking to give India, not a new religion, but a new political faith, in the bosom of which her most high-souled patriots may find refuge; we cannot avoid our duty and our destiny, even if we would, of carrying our work to its logical conclusion; and so, though some may fear lest we are destined to watch those that follow "loosen, stone by stone, all our fair work," and history once more repeat another of its dismal failures, it is necessary, that we, one and all, strive and believe and hope that the great heart of India will prove itself sound; and that somehow or other, though we cannot yet see clearly through the mists and miasmas of danger and difficulty that surround the path, our mission, the noblest and grandest in history, will yet march undeviating to its appointed end.

E. F. OATEN.

Calcutta.

THE PERISHING OF PAPER.

BY J. A. CHAPMAN.

II.

THERE is a better reason for a second article¹ on the subject of the perishing of the paper of the books in our Indian libraries than the fact that the first was read with interest; but that, too, appeared to be the case. It was to be expected, at least as far as the interest of the subject, in itself great, might be relied upon to lend some degree of readableness to any piece of writing about it. The interest of the subject is great. It ought even, however, to be greater, for it is now clear that it is no exaggeration to say that the many questions arising out of the perishing of paper are those that posterity will consider as by far the most important of all that came before this generation of librarians in India, and those the neglect of which would most have laid us open to blame. One trusts that there will be no blame to impute, but if there is not one, an even greater interest must be shown in the various questions than has yet been, and there must be somewhat more readiness to advance the enquiry.

The better reason for a second article is the progress that has been made in the enquiry since the first was written. One thing now pretty well established, and the importance of it is obvious, is the extent to which the old books in the libraries have already perished. It follows from the system of classification in force in the Imperial Library—according to subject-matter, namely—that the old books and the new are mingled on the shelves. In the same row, at any given moment, there might be the oldest book in the library and the

¹ For the first article see *Calcutta Review*, July, 1919.

very last received. That fact, combined with this other fact—that the collection consists of many tens of thousands of volumes—had been accepted as making it out of the question that a *direct* examination of the old books should be undertaken with a view to ascertain the proportion that had perished. It has been possible, however, to ascertain this *indirectly*. There is at Meerut, in the Royal Artillery Mess Library, a collection, consisting solely of old books, and small enough to be examined book by book. That was done last June, when lists were carefully compiled of (a) perished issues of periodicals, (b) perished books, (c) books in good condition, (d) books partly perished and partly in good condition. They were not mere lists either: a note was added of the precise condition of the paper of the books. The Imperial Library copy of each book or periodical was then examined. Their condition was found to agree so exactly with that of the Meerut copies, as to leave one with no escape from the conclusion that, if the old books in the Imperial Library were examined book by book, as those at Meerut had been, the condition of the two collections would be found to be exactly the same. The condition of the Meerut collection is as follows: from 50 per cent. to 60 per cent. of the books and periodicals have perished completely, or, if left in India, will sooner or later do so; about 15 per cent. are still in so good condition as to force one to the conclusion that they are of paper which no exposure to tropical conditions could ever cause to perish; of the balance it was found difficult to judge. The evidence, if it was rightly understood, was that it was still too soon to judge, though one would have said beforehand that that could not now be so for any book in a library collected between 1800 and 1860. After all, however, what has the whole enquiry proved more full of than reversals of opinions held beforehand and of judgments too rapidly formed?

There remained a marked absence of information regarding the condition of the books published between

1860 and 1890, when, in the Madras Secretariat Library, a collection of such books was found, sufficiently small to be examined book by book, and offering this further advantage, that the examination would tell the utmost; for, unless this also is a judgment too rapidly formed, Madras is the worst place in all India for books and records. The collection has not yet been examined book by book: the task awaits any of the local librarians, who may wish to help us. A fair number of the books have been examined, however. They included the following, which it has been thought it would make for clarity to arrange, as is shown, in three separate classes :—

	Title.	Imprint.
Class I.	1. Report of the Madras Salt Commission. 1876.	Madras, 1876.
	2. McCann: Report on the Dyes and Tans of Bengal	Calcutta, 1883.
	3. Gribble: Manual of the District of Cuddapah ..	Madras, 1875.
	4. Moore: Manual of the Trichinopoly District ..	Madras, 1878.
Class II.	1. Hunter: Orissa, Vol. I. .. .	London, 1872.
	2. Hunter: The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I.	London, 1881.
	3. Hunter: A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. III. Districts of Midnapur and Hugli ..	London, 1876.
	4. Hunter: A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. IV. Districts of Burdwan, Bankura, and Birbhum	London, 1876.
Class III.	1. The Legislative Acts of the Governor-General of India in Council, 1849-1855, with an analytical abstract. By W. Theobald ..	Calcutta, 1860.
	2. India Acts in 1860	Calcutta, 1860.
	3. A Collection of the Acts passed by the Governor-General of India in Council in 1868	Calcutta, 1860.
	4. The Acts of the Legislative Council of India, of the year 1860. By W. Theobald ..	Calcutta, 1861.

Attention may be called to the practical value, for the

Indian administrator and others, of the books of those three classes.

Now as to the condition of the Madras copies, I doubt very much if the general expectation among Indian librarians would not have been that they would be found in fair condition on the whole. It is not so. They have all perished—they and dozens of other books of the same date, and possibly hundreds of others. It is all a most melancholy business. The following are fair samples of the inspection notes: “discoloured and brittle, even very brittle,” “discoloured and very brittle,” “very brittle,” “discoloured and brittle, or very nearly so,” “much of the paper is markedly discoloured, as pp. 409-670, which are very brittle. Pp. 727-846 are so too,” “contains much markedly, if not even heavily, discoloured and brittle paper.”

The popular mind is probably not to be caught by any merely statistical statement of the perishing of books. It is more likely to be caught by the statement, unfortunately *literally* true, that all the copies of Sir W. W. Hunter's books that have been examined, whether in Madras or elsewhere in the Plains of India, have perished. His “Imperial Gazetteer,” his “Indian Empire,” his “Statistical Account of Bengal,” his “Annals of Rural Bengal,” his “Orissa,” his “Assam,” his “Indian Musalmans”—they have all perished. This touches us on the human side. It appears a particular malignancy of Fate, that not one of the man's books should have escaped.

There can obviously be no building up of libraries on the plan of the British Museum Library or the Bodleian Library in places in which books do not remain strong beyond their thirtieth birthday, and as such libraries in India as the Imperial Library, the Provincial “copyright” libraries of Indian publications, the libraries of the various learned societies, to mention no others, had always been conceived of as to be built up essentially on that plan, however the scale might be smaller in any case, the alternative, after the

Meerut and Madras revelations, was to find localities in India where books would not perish, or radically to alter one's ideas on the subject of Indian libraries.

What are we faced with, given that the evil is beyond a remedy, but the disappearance from India of almost every scholar's authorities? Either whole libraries will disappear, each at a stroke, or shelf by shelf they will crumble into fragments. Our deliberate advice to the Royal Artillery has been to send the Meerut Library to England. If that has been done, that makes one library that has disappeared at a stroke. The commoner fate of the libraries will probably be such as the Madras Secretariat Library's—slowly to crumble into fragments.

There is, fortunately, the hope that in the Indian Hill Stations, or at least in some of them, are localities in which permanent libraries could be built up. Most of the investigation so far undertaken with a view to proving this has been done at Ootacamund. It has not proved conclusive, or not at every point. It is doubtful if there is any collection of paper at Ootacamund, either printed books or records, already old enough to show the utmost, and anything less than that lacks conclusiveness. The enquiry conducted there has been, none the less, of the very greatest value and interest, and similar enquiries conducted at Simla, Darjeeling, Shillong, etc., though there may be no older collections at any of those places, would be of the greatest value also. The tasks are strongly commended to the local librarians. How to conduct the enquiries, particularly what to admit as evidence, and what to reject, will appear from an attentive perusal of what follows.

The things examined at Ootacamund—in the Nilgiri library, at the Secretariat, at the Collectorate, in the Church Vestry, and elsewhere—may be divided into the four groups of (a) books, (b) scientific journals, (c) periodicals, (d) manuscript records. An unexpectedly large number of books were found to have the dates of receipt entered on the

flyleaf, or on some attached label. No account, of course, could be taken of any others.

The following table shows how striking is the contrast between the general condition of Plains and Hill Station copies of books, as far as we have experience:—

TABLE I. BOOKS.

Title and Imprint.	Plains Copy.	Hill Station Copy.
1. Report of the Madras Salt Commission, 1876, Madras, 1876.	Madras copy is discoloured and brittle, even very brittle.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition. It was received in 1876.
2. Hunter: Orissa, Vol. I. London, 1872.	Madras copy is discoloured and very brittle.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition. It was received in 1872.
3. Hunter: Annals of Rural Bengal, Vol. I. The ethnical frontier of Lower Bengal. London, 1868.	Madras copy is somewhat discoloured, and splits on two foldings.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition. It was received in 1869.
4. Hunter: Statistical Account of Assam, Vol. I. London, 1879.	Calcutta copy has perished completely.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition. It was received in 1882.
5. Gribble: Manual of the District of Cuddapah. Madras, 1875.	Madras copy is discoloured and brittle, or very nearly so.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition. It was received in 1876.
6. Moore: Manual of the Trichinopoly District. Madras, 1878.	Madras copy is discoloured and brittle.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition. It was received in 1879.
7. Motley: History of the United Netherlands, Vol. IV, 1600-9. London, 1867.	Calcutta copy is very brittle.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition. It was received in 1867.
8. Muir: Annals of the early Caliphate. London, 1883.	Calcutta copy is very brittle.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition. It was received in 1883.
9. Simmonds: Tropical Agriculture. London, 1877.	Calcutta copy is brittle or very nearly so.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition. It was received in 1878.
10. Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, No. XXXII. Report on Agricultural Exhibitions, 1856. Madras, 1856.	Calcutta copy is markedly discoloured; cracks badly on two foldings, and splits on the slightest pressure.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition. It was received in 1858.

Title and Imprint.	Plains Copy.	Hill Station Copy.
11. Selections from the Records of the Madras Government No. XXXIV. Report on Civil Dispensaries, for the year 1855. <i>Madras</i> , 1856.	Calcutta copy is markedly discoloured, and is brittle, or very nearly so.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition. It was received in 1857.
12. Annuals of Indian Administration, Vol. VIII. <i>Serampore</i> , 1864.	Calcutta copy contains markedly discoloured and brittle paper.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition. It was received in 1864.

The next group—that of scientific journals—is a very small one in Ootacamund, and my comparative table, I regret to say, is incomplete. There is a reason, however, against passing the group over without mention. It is this—it has been found of advantage to examine copies of the same book in different places in the Plains, or in the Hills, where the *effective* number of books² is so small, copies of the same book are not often to be found in different places; the publications of the Geological Survey of India (the scientific journals at Ootacamund, as it happens, are some of that series) are more likely to be found than many others.

The table is as follows:—

TABLE II. SCIENTIFIC JOURNALS.

Title.	Plains Copy.	Hill Station Copy.
1. Records of the Geological Survey of India. Vol. I, pts. 2 and 3, and Vols. VIII, XI, XIII, and XIV.	The Calcutta copies are all brittle.	The Ootacamund copies are in excellent condition.
2. Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India. Vol. III, pts. 1 and 2; Vol. IV, pts. 1 and 2; Vol. V, pp. 227 <i>et seq.</i> , Vol. VI, pt. 1.	No Plains copies examined.	None of the paper of the Ootacamund copies seems affected, unless it be that of Vol. XI, pt. 1, the paper of which seems a little to have weakened.

Table I showed a striking contrast between the general condition of Plains and Hill Station copies of books.

² The *effective* number is the total number *minus* all those that are not known for certain to have been in the Hill Station library since they were published,

Periodicals show as striking a contrast. The following is the comparative table:—

TABLE III. PERIODICALS.

Title.	Plains Copy.	Hill Station Copy.
1. Fortnightly Review Vol. I. New Series, 1867.	In the Calcutta copy the pages are discoloured and brittle, if they are not all equally affected.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition.
2. Contemporary Review, Vol. I, 1866.	Calcutta copy is slightly discoloured, and splits on two foldings and the least pressure. Some split without any pressure.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition.
3. Quarterly Review, Vol. XCV. 1834.	Calcutta copy is slightly discoloured, but not uniformly. Most of the pages would split on two foldings and a little pressure.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition.
4. Edinburgh Review, Vol. XCIX. 1854.	Calcutta copy is brittle.	Ootacamund copy is in excellent condition.
5. Blackwood's Magazine, Vols. VI-X. 1820 and 1821.	Calcutta copies have perished completely, or very nearly so. The characteristic smell is very strong.	Ootacamund copies are in excellent condition. A page here and there may be faded, or even slightly discoloured.

Attention will be called presently to the indications given by an item or so in the last two tables of paper having deteriorated in the Hills. The last table will be given first.

TABLE IV. MANUSCRIPT RECORDS.

Plains.	Hill Station.
Samples of manuscript record paper, kept permanently in Madras, bearing the watermarks:— "J. Whatman, 1822 " "J. Whatman, 1830 " "J. Whatman, 1839 " "S. Wise & Patch, 1807 " "S. Wise & Co., 1824 " "Morley & Saunders, 1841 " have been found certainly to be perishing, if they still retain a fair amount of strength.	Samples of manuscript record paper, kept permanently in Ootacamund, bearing the watermarks:— "J. Whatman, 1830 " "J. Whatman, 1836 " "S. Wise & Co., 1822 " "Morley & Saunders, 1841 " "Morley & Saunders, 1843 " have been found to be in excellent condition.

As the perishing of paper is a thing not unknown in London, Paris, and elsewhere in Europe, it was not to be

expected that there should be no signs whatever of it in Ootacamund; but until we have examined the London copies of the Ootacamund books that show signs of perishing, there will be some anxiety lest the Indian Hill Stations should be found to fall appreciably below the European towns as places for the custody of books. That examination will be held in the summer of this year. The books then to be examined are those, the titles of which are given in the next table, and some others. They are, of course, the books, the Ootacamund copies of which shows signs of perishing, and from the notes in the second column the reader will learn the extent of it. It is not very, very great, but one would have liked it to be even less. As information, which we look to the local librarians for, is received of other books showing signs of perishing, in Ootacamund, or in another Hill Station, as Coonoor, Simla, Darjeeling, or Shillong, the London copies of those also will be examined.

Table of Books in Ootacamund Showing Signs of Perishing.

Title.	Ootacamund Copy.	Plains Copy.
1. Burton: <i>Reminiscences of Sport in India.</i> London, 1885.	The paper of the Ootacamund copy, which was received in the station in 1886, cracks badly on two foldings, and splits on a very little pressure.	The Calcutta copy has perished completely.
2. Marshall: <i>A Phrenologist amongst the Todas.</i> London, 1873.	The Ootacamund copy was received in 1873. It has naturally a specially strong local interest, so that the book has often been borrowed from the Library. That must be taken into account. The paper has weakened. It cracks, when folded, in the way that perishing paper does. There is some discoloration. A turned-down corner breaks off <i>clean</i> at no very strong pull. Page 209 has split along the fold made by someone's turning down the corner of that page. So has page 139.	The Calcutta copy is very brittle.

Title.	Ootacamund Copy.	Plains Copy.
3. [Maurice.] <i>The History of Hindostan</i> , Vol. I. <i>London</i> , 1795. Vol. II. <i>London</i> , 1798.	The Ootacamund copy was received as a presentation from the East India Company Library in England about 1859. It is presumed that it had been in the latter library since the date of publication, but that is not known for certain. The paper is sometimes discoloured under the print, as signatures ZI of Vol. I and Hhh of Vol. II, or the paper is markedly discoloured, as page 1 of "Contents of Vol. II," but even the discoloured pages are strong, and most of the paper is in excellent condition.	(No Plains copy has yet been found.)
4. Bacon: <i>Novum Organum</i> Translated by Johnson. <i>London</i> , 1859.	The Ootacamund copy was received in 1859. Pages here and there are spotted, or slightly discoloured, but the paper is all strong, and most of it is in excellent condition.	(No Plains copy has yet been found.)
5. <i>Madras Journal of Literature and Science</i> . Vol. I, New Series, or Vol. XVII, Old Series, 1857.	Pp. 1-102 of the Ootacamund copy are slightly discoloured; pp. 103-108 are clean; pp. 109-130 are slightly discoloured; pp. 131-146 are clean; pp. 147-end are slightly discoloured. All the paper is strong.	The Calcutta copy shows the same difference in the colour of pp. 1-102, 109-130 and 147-end compared with pp. 103-108 and 131-146, but the discolouration in this copy is greater. The discoloured paper is very brittle. The clean paper is still fairly strong.
6. <i>Madras Journal of Literature and Science</i> . Vol. II, New Series, or Vol. XVIII, Old Series, 1858.	The paper of the Ootacamund copy is all of it strong, but some pages show fading, and some are slightly discoloured. The cleaneat and strongest are pp. 1-24.	Pp. 1-24 of the Calcutta copy are clean and fairly strong. The rest of the paper splits on two foldings and a little pressure.

Attention was to be called, it will be remembered, to the indications of paper having deteriorated in the Hills given by items in the second and third of the four comparative tables. It will have been seen, however, that some of the items in the last table show stronger indications. No more, then, need be said of the weaker.

Granted the ruinousness of the Plains as places for the custody of books, and it cannot unfortunately be disputed; granted also that it is in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and the other cities that the books are wanted, one inevitably asks oneself the question, whether the reading rooms and the cataloguing rooms of such an institution as the Imperial Library could not continue to be in Calcutta, though all the books but some retained percentage had been removed to the Hills. The answer must be in the affirmative. Whatever the objections to the books of a library being some five hundred miles, or even farther away, anything would be better than that the scholars of each generation should have few authorities dating much before the times of their own fathers, or be dependent on foreign countries for them. The main question having been answered in the affirmative, many most interesting subsidiary questions present themselves, the chief being undoubtedly how one would make up the retained percentage of which I have spoken. The answer to that question would be one for experience slowly to give. The percentage might be composed of each book from the time of its receipt until it had been, say, thirty years in the library, *plus* duplicates of older books in great demand; but before such could be safely the rule, one would have to have been satisfied upon a point that one is afraid is still among the obscurest. I mentioned to a person interested in our enquiry that we had recommended the removal of the Meerut library to England. "The process, chemical or bacteriological, or possibly both combined," he said, "has been going on uninterruptedly for seventy to ninety years, assuming that it began at once. Are you certain that sending the books to England will stop it?" I had to admit, of course, that I was not certain, who is? I had before been ready, perhaps, to assume that sending books out of India would stop their perishing, and it is due to that critic that the enquiry has been definitely extended to include his question, or the nearest that one can practically get to it. Given books that had

begun to perish in the Plains, would the process of perishing be stopped by their transference to the Hills? That is the practical question. In the hope that it might throw some light on it, search was made for a collection of books which had been long enough in the plains for perishing to proceed some way, and which had afterwards been removed to the Hills, and sufficiently long ago to make it possible that a comparison of those books with copies that had been continuously in the Plains would tell something. Such a collection has been found, it is hoped, in the 9th (Secunderabad) Divisional Library, which was for many years in the Plains, and was then transferred to Ootacamund. My impression, after working for two or three days in the library (I do not give it as possessing any value, but as possibly of some interest), was that there was very much less perishing than the collection would have shown, had it been all the time in the Plains. Samples of perished and perishing paper were selected, and sent to the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore. It may prove desirable to take a dozen selected books (among the hundreds that are perishing it is, alas! nothing to ask for a dozen), and, having analysed the paper, and make a careful record of the result, have each book divided into two, one set of halves to be kept thenceforward in the Hills, and the other set in the Plains. At intervals of time, such intervals as experience should point to as the best, portions of each half in each set would be analysed, and the results be compared with each other and with the first analysis. We might few of us live to see the end of that experiment, but we must not let such a thought make us slack about setting it in train, or any other of fair promise.

This article might now end. There is, however, a matter, perhaps of the nature of a side issue, which I should not like to leave without a word said. We had been struck, as I mentioned in the first article, with the fact that, among the books that had perished completely, a very high

percentage bore dates during the Napoleonic Wars—so high a percentage, indeed, as to suggest some connexion of cause and effect. One such book, and such a ruin as to arrest attention, was found last May—W. G. Browne's "Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798." Second edition. *London*, 1806. Printed by Strapan and Preston for T. Cadell and W. Davies in the Strand, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, Paternoster Row. A few pages were sent to Messrs. Wm. Clowes, Sons, Ltd., as it was thought that it might be of interest to them to have an analysis of the paper. They have very kindly replied as follows:—

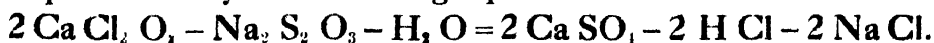
"You may remember that on 24th May, 1919, you wrote to us *re* the bad condition of the books printed in the early years of the last century, and asked us if we could account for this. We were unable to discover anything from examination, or to give a definite reason for the deterioration of the paper. Since this we have looked at some of the old handbooks on paper making, and find that at the beginning of the last century, owing to the shortage of material, or the increased demand for paper, poorer material, such as jute,³ was introduced with the rags. This increased the difficulties of bleaching the pulp, with the result that more bleaching powder (chloride of lime) was used, and also more chlorine gas used in the gas bleaching process. An attempt was made to improve the bleaching by heating the pulp. This had a detrimental effect, as it shortened the fibre.

The arrangements for washing out the bleaching powder were not sufficiently good to remove this increased quantity of powder, so that a certain amount of chlorine was left clinging to the material. This has had the result of attacking the weakened and shortened fibres, and thus rotting the paper. For some reason your climate appears to bring on this

³ This mention of jute is of special interest. The critic above-mentioned, a man trained in laboratories to use his nose, was once present when a quantity of spoilt jute was being removed from one of the Hughli mills. The smell of it, to put it as nearly as I can remember as he did, was a compound of several smells, and one of them was the characteristic smell of perished paper.

decomposition faster than in England. You will realise from this explanation that, since the arrangements for washing the pulp were improved, this difficulty has been got over, so that it is only the papers manufactured in the early years of the last century that are likely to deteriorate as the samples you sent to us.

Later on 'antichlor' was introduced as a neutralising agent. Hyposulphite of soda is employed for this purpose, and the chemical reaction which takes place may be represented by the following equation:—



Hoping this explanation is quite clear to you."

J. A. CHAPMAN.

Imperial Library, Calcutta.

* This statement is not borne out by our experience in India—not by any means.

A PLEA FOR A SCHOOL AND COLLEGE MEDICAL SERVICE IN BENGAL.

BY J. N. DAS GUPTA, I.E.S.

SIR MICHAEL SADLER and his colleagues on the recent Calcutta University Commission observe in a noteworthy chapter of their Report—a report by the way which has been fittingly characterised by His Excellency the Chancellor of our University as one of the weightiest sermons ever preached on an educational text—that “the University must be in a position to assure the public that the students, to whom it awards its Degrees, have received their training under conditions favourable to health and character as well as to intellectual attainment.” It will be at once recognised that this weighty pronouncement is an echo of the newly-awakened consciousness of communal responsibility in regard to the promotion of the general intellectual and physical welfare of the rising generation in every civilized land. It is a happy augury for the future that this awakening of public conscience is not limited to any one section of the body politic, but it is an all-pervading impulse affecting the community at large, inspiring governmental action in various directions and manifesting itself in the manifold activities of the modern age in various forms of social service and organised efforts for the promotion of child welfare. The modern age—two of the dominant influences of which we may unhesitatingly take to be nationalism and Democracy—has been steadily endeavouring, on the one hand, to organise a system of free, public, secular education. It is to be noticed that the highest percentage of literacy in relation to illiteracy has come to be almost an object of international jealousy in our days. Everywhere, furthermore, there is a growing appreciation of the necessity of safeguarding the

physical well-being of the youthful generation. Signs are visible all along the line of a growing sense of social solidarity, and of a recognition on the part of the State that its healthy life, that national efficiency depends on the existence of a healthy population, and that the true remedy for some of the distressing social and economic maladies of the age, such as unrest and unemployment, is to be found in well-directed endeavours for the promotion of the physical and intellectual well-being of the child, its necessary preparation and equipment for citizenship.

As was to be expected, the Report of the Sadler Commission frankly recognises this responsibility of the State. It observes "We regard the Government as having some share of responsibility in the matter, partly on general grounds of public welfare and order, partly because it is to the interest of the State that the work of the University should be done under conditions which will produce among those who receive University training a high level of character and competence."

Once again, as is well known to all readers of the Report, —and who among us to-day has not carefully studied and examined the Report for himself,—the Commissioners suggest as a practical means towards the realisation of their ideal the organisation of a Board of Students' Welfare, and they make various proposals in regard to the functions of the suggested Board. This brings us to the School Medical Service in England to which the title of this paper ventures to invite attention, and which is now recognised to be an essential part of the national administrative machinery evolved under the operation of a succession of Education Acts. The successful working of this machinery specially under the stimulating influence of the present President of the Board of Education in England has wrought almost a revolution in the attitude of the public towards the problem of national education. We notice the dawn of a new era. There has come about something of a new understanding

of the child. It is superfluous to add to-day that the considerations which have come to the forefront at this critical juncture in the history of the world through the events and experiences of the Great War lend a special importance to the examination of this question, and invest its study with a special interest.

As the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education in England stated in August, 1915, the second year of the great European War—

“The European War with its terrible burden of destruction and loss of life makes more rather than less necessary the preservation and nurture of child life. Indeed it is probably true to say that there is now no ultimate need of the State greater, more imperative or more urgent than that of securing the health and physical efficiency of the rising generation with a view to its all-round practical education.

But before adverting to some of the aspects of the working of this Service in England, I desire for a moment to come nearer home, and ask what have we done in the Calcutta University in regard to this matter. At the very outset let me confess quite frankly that not even the boldest advocate of the University would undertake to maintain that we, in Bengal, have done all that can be done in regard to it. But it is permissible to state that we have not been altogether apathetic in the matter and to urge in mitigation of our faults of omission in the past that we have not really had so far a fair chance or a free hand. The Raleigh Commission invited attention to the significance of the question, and their comments and suggestions in this behalf led to the constitution of what is known as the Students' Residence Committee in the University. In their recommendations for the formation of the Committee year after year, the Syndicate of the University have tried to secure on it the representation of the best medical talent and of the most up-to-date medical opinion available in the

capital city, thus fully recognising the importance of securing an appropriate physical environment in which the natural faculties and capabilities of the under-graduate may find room for healthy flowering and development. The responsibility of the Colleges had also been fully recognised as is evidenced by the association of Heads of the constituent Colleges of the University with representatives of medical opinion on the Residence Committee. Further, the Government of Bengal, year after year, has been financing what is known as the Calcutta Mess Scheme which seeks to provide proper residential accommodation for the thousands of young men who flock to Calcutta from all parts, not merely of the Province of Bengal, but of the whole of India, in their anxiety to avail themselves of the educational facilities afforded by the Colleges in the Metropolis.

In the working of the Residence Committee, we thus notice a happy spirit of co-operation between official and non-official and voluntary agencies—a co-operation which is everywhere recognised to be an essential condition of successful work in the sphere of activity with which we are at present concerned. But the funds at the disposal of the University for this purpose are limited and the scope of the functions of the Residence Committee is unexpansive and rigidly confined. One all-important part of the work of the Medical Service in England, namely, the medical inspection of the school-going population, is entirely beyond the scope of the duties of our Committee.

In this connection, my friends will remember the Conference of Heads of Colleges with the authorities of the University which was held in Calcutta early in July last year. The Conference was presided over by that indefatigable worker in the cause of the educational advancement of our peoples—the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. It is a most fortunate circumstance for the people of Bengal that this question has succeeded in enlisting the active sympathy of Sir Asutosh, who has already begun to

grapple with the difficulties of the situation with his characteristic fearlessness, boundless energy and inexhaustible resourcefulness. I propose to state here a few of the considerations which Sir Asutosh put forth at the Conference and invite attention to the practical results already attained—the very real and substantial advance which the University has already been enabled to make.

Sir Asutosh opened the Conference by placing before it a Resolution which the Syndicate had adopted on his initiative and of which the Conference was the outcome. The resolution runs thus:—

“That a Conference of Heads of Colleges be convened with a view to discuss what steps should be forthwith taken for the medical supervision of students in the University and its Colleges and that the Members of the Syndicate be invited to attend the Conference.

“The Conference should be asked to consider whether arrangements are feasible, whereby every student, on his admission to a College or the University, may be examined by a qualified medical practitioner who will examine his physique, record his state of health and physical measurements and recommend the diet and course of physical training which he should follow. This examination should be repeated periodically and medical advice should be available in the interval between two medical examinations. The medical examination may, in the first instance, be optional; it is hoped that when students come to understand its value, it will become universal without compulsion.”

When Sir Asutosh observed in course of his opening speech that “the general level of health among our students is very far from satisfactory and requires immediate and serious attention on the part of the University and its Colleges,” he echoed the feeling of all present at the Conference. For it appeared in course of the proceedings that there was an almost absolute unanimity of feeling in the matter. All were agreed about the need and importance

of the medical inspection of our young men and about the urgency of the question. Sir Asutosh went to the very root of the matter when he emphatically added that “many observers have noticed that boys apparently in good health enter a College, and, by the time they get out of the College, with or without a Degree, their health has materially deteriorated. To me it seems to be of vital importance that we should take up this question, not in supersession of the College authorities but with their help and advice.” The scheme which the authorities of the University have in view is practically foreshadowed in the following lucid statement:—

“The medical inspection is to be conducted not merely for the purpose of discovering the condition of health of the student concerned, what is more vital is that advice should be given to him from time to time on the basis of the medical inspection. If, for instance, in the case of a student it was discovered that he was losing weight, it should be a matter of serious concern to him and to his guardians, and I hope also to the College authorities. In such a case, the question might arise whether he was suffering from an ailment or whether it was his diet which was at fault, or whether it was the absence of exercise or too much exercise, and so on. Each individual case will require consideration by itself and, consequently, more time will have to be spent by the medical officer than may appear at first sight to be necessary.”

“But I decline to be frightened by the magnitude of the task; it is the very magnitude of the task which appeals to me” added Sir Asutosh.

It may here be stated parenthetically that this is a part of the work in reference to schools for which the School Medical Service in England is responsible. And I am anxious to enlist the powerful sympathy of all interested in

the social and educational advancement of this Province in my appeal for the organisation of an analogous service for our Schools and Colleges in Bengal.

Before passing from the proceedings of the Conference in Calcutta, I should state that one dissentient voice was heard at the meeting which reminded us of the old familiar arguments of the weakening of parental responsibility and of the possibility of a conflict between such a medical service and the medical profession in the Province. This is not the time nor the occasion to deal with these time-honoured objections at any length. But I feel it would be interesting to note in this connection the following compendious statement which occurs in the Annual Report of the Chief School Medical Officer in England for the year 1915:—

“Three disadvantages of State intervention were anticipated in the early days, namely, that such action would pauperise the parent and destroy the sense of parental responsibility, that it would impose an unjustifiable burden on the rate-payer, and that it would have a detrimental effect on the legitimate practice of medical men. The history of the School Medical Service has dispelled these fears. Parental responsibility has been stimulated, the relatively small expenditure is yielding high interest and the medical issue has been sufficiently safeguarded to secure, with few exceptions, the support and co-operation of the Profession.”

Before the Conference concluded its proceedings, the President placed before it a communication which had been addressed to the Vice-Chancellor of the University by the Bengal Medical Association. The Association stated—

“The proposal to examine the students medically is an excellent idea and this Association will be prepared to afford every help that may be necessary. So far as the Calcutta Colleges are concerned, we can take up the work immediately, but, for the Mofussil Colleges, we may require a little time to organise the scheme. The members of the

Association will be glad to do this work without any remuneration."

Here is the first substantial contribution towards the practical realisation of our ideal, which has been followed up—I am happy to add, by the appointment of two whole-time Medical Officers by the University for the medical inspection of College under-graduates in Calcutta. But the point that I am anxious to urge is that this is not enough. For one thing, the medical inspection of the school-going population is even more important and more urgent than the examination of College under-graduates. Moreover, if anything permanent is to be achieved, we must have a regularly organised medical service under the joint control and guidance of the State and the University, so that our end may be one, our efforts in this connection in various parts of the Province may all be co-ordinated, guided by the same principles and directed towards identical objects. In urging this, I have with me the high authority of the present Principal of the Calcutta Medical College who emphatically stated before the Conference:—

"I was very interested in the letter read by the President, in which the Bengal Medical Association have offered to medically examine the students without any remuneration. But that will not do at all. If you want to have this medical examination, you will want to have a whole-time medical service of expert men, who will be able to give the whole of their time and to travel round. It is no use to have a *kutchra* scheme. It means a whole-time University medical service.

"As regards the financing of this, it seems to me, as it has been stated by some speakers, that we can fairly ask Government, in the interests of the rising generation, to give us help. But at the same time it must fall also, I take it, on the University finances; and perhaps we may have to ask students to pay something towards their medical fee when they join their Colleges. But certainly the University will

have to take its share in the expense and Government will have to be asked to do the same."

Lieutenant-Colonel Deare puts my case in a nutshell. What I am pleading for is exactly what Dr. Deare urged. I hasten to add that, on the present occasion, I do not propose to say anything about the constitution of the School Medical Service which I contend for or about its relation to local authorities, to the Health Department of the Calcutta Corporation, or the Sanitary Commissioner of the Provincial Government or the Public Health Department of the Imperial Government when that comes into being. The essence of my contention is that the medical inspection of our young men is a crying need, that we can no longer afford to neglect it, and that a regularly organised medical service must come into existence before the problem can be effectively grappled with.

More than half a century ago, Sir Edwin Chadwick declared that a special sanitary service applicable to schools is needed for the correction of the common evils of their construction and the protection of the health of the children therein. In these words he anticipated the School Medical Service which was introduced in 1907 and which now forms such an outstanding feature of the administrative machinery at the disposal of the Local Education authorities in England. As is well known, the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, Section 13, required a Local Education authority to provide for the medical inspection of certain groups of children in attendance at Public Elementary Schools, and gave power to the authority to make such arrangements as may be sanctioned by the Board of Education for attending to the health and physical condition of the children educated in such schools. And it is important to note that in the exercise of its powers under the section, the Local Education authority may encourage and assist the establishment or continuance of voluntary agencies and

associate with itself representatives of voluntary associations for the purpose.

It will interest us all to note further that, in Germany, for example, the school doctor has become a recognised institution. All primary schools are subjected to periodical medical inspection. The doctor's duties vary a little according to district, but, generalised, they may be said to be:—

(1) To examine every scholar as to condition of health and to take his weight, height, chest, and other measurements.

(2) To deal promptly with any suspected cases or conditions which concern the health of individual children or the school as a whole.

(3) To examine periodically the school buildings and report on any hygienic defects.

(4) To examine children proposed for the special or defective schools."

Similarly, "in America child study departments, in which anthropometric statistics are collected and tabulated, have been established at some large centres. A similar system of weighing and measuring children has been adopted by a branch of the Child Study Association at Liverpool. Sir James Crichton Browne, M.D., urged so far back as 1884 'the systematic measurement of the children in all elementary schools' as supplying 'information of the highest practical and scientific value.'"

It is, therefore, with special satisfaction that we, of the Calcutta University, listened to our Vice-Chancellor's timely references in his first Convocation Address to the noble campaign which His Excellency the Governor of Bengal is waging against the insanitary condition of the Province and which will enshrine Lord Ronaldshay's memory in the hearts of a grateful people. The Vice-Chancellor's allusion to the new task which the University has undertaken was, it was generally felt, most opportune.

In reference to the duty of the University towards the community of students in the collegiate stage, the Vice-Chancellor stated:—

“We have undertaken to institute a system of periodical medical examination of College students in Calcutta for the present for the purpose of helping them to fight against disease and its insidious germs, and to improve their physique, as well as their mental health. We shall keep continuous records of individual cases, and, in this way, lay a foundation for a systematic survey which will be the basis of our advance in two significant directions. First, the Boards of Students’ Welfare of the future will be guided in their beneficent activity by the material which these surveys will place before them. Secondly, we shall build up in this connection a certain body of data, for physical, mental and social measurement, which will be of the highest value to investigators in Experimental Psychology as well as in Educational Science.”

It will have been noticed that, in the declaration already quoted, Sir John Chadwick spoke of the correction of the common evils of the construction of school houses, and this falls within the scope of the activities of the Education authorities in England. In reference to this, I desire to invite attention to a most stimulating paper entitled “Educational Organisation as a Civic Problem,” which our present Director of Public Instruction, the Hon’ble Mr. W. W. Hornell, read, in 1914, at a meeting of the Calcutta Social Study Society, which was presided over by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal. In course of his paper, Mr. Hornell spoke of the extremely unsatisfactory condition of the housing of Primary and Secondary Schools in the town of Calcutta, and asked, with great force and cogency, “supposing an Act is ever passed, making primary education in Calcutta free and compulsory, you cannot compel children to attend schools unless there are schools

for them to attend. Just conceive of the problem which someone will then have to face. We have now a large scheme for the improvement of Calcutta. Surely, at such a juncture, the problem of schools in which future generations are to be educated ought not to be altogether overlooked." This was said in February, 1914. When a student of our civic activities enquires what has the great Municipal Corporation of Calcutta done during these intervening years to ameliorate the state of things to which the Hon'ble Mr. Hornell invited attention and to secure hygienic surroundings for schools within its jurisdiction, he is perforce constrained to reply practically "*nothing*." Similarly, as to that other august body which Mr. Hornell was thinking of, namely, the Calcutta Improvement Trust, the answer is the same disheartening negative. But for all that I, for one, do not despair of the future. If the State helps us in organising a School Medical Service, it would be the business of that service, in addition to the medical inspection of our young men, to see to the hygienic condition of our schools. I admit the work before us is gigantic, and the arrears to be made up are considerable. But let us remember what has been achieved in other countries in recent years with the co-operation of the State. For the first Parliamentary Grant of £20,000 for the building of new schools in England was made only in 1833, and the housing of Elementary Schools in England and Wales on the eve of the passing of the first Reform Act which resulted in the transference of political power from the aristocracy to the *bourgeoisie*—the middle classes—was deplorable enough. We read in a very recent publication of the year 1919:—

"A description of one of these schools in the late thirties has been given the author by a friend who attended it in his childhood. This particular school was held in a low room above the blacksmith's forge of a village in mid-Wales. If the schoolmaster saw a friend enter the village inn, which was commanded by the solitary window of the school, he

would join him, and leave the children to their own devices. When the blacksmith was engaged on a big piece of work, such as shrinking an iron rim on to a cart-wheel, the smoke found its way into the schoolroom, and made a short holiday necessary. The schoolmaster was paid £20 a year, to which he added his salary as parish clerk, and an occasional fee for writing letters for the illiterate villagers."

Does not the concluding sentence remind us of the Bengal Village Schoolmaster who sometimes acts also as the Village Postmaster and ekes out his slender income by writing letters for his less fortunate illiterate brother villagers and filling up money order forms for them?

We all have a more or less intimate personal knowledge of the housing of our schools, and it is quite unnecessary for me to draw any general picture of the prevailing state of things for the edification of my friends. But it would interest us all to note how it strikes foreign observers. I, therefore, reproduce here the account given by a French traveller—author of an eminently readable book which came to our hands a few years ago, under the title of *Administrative Problems of British India*. "The Schools," notes the French observer, "lack space, air, light and cleanliness; those in the most remote corners of our French Provincial Districts would seem palatial by the side of most of the Indian Institutions. Often, too, there is no regular school building of any sort. The school is carried on in a dark hut or in an open courtyard, and the children squat round their teachers." And this picture we may place by the side of the description of the school in mid-Wales which I have already quoted. If schools in Wales could struggle out of this slough of despond, need we in Bengal despair, especially if the State comes to our rescue. Then again as to legislative efforts for the promotion of child welfare in England, the beginning was really made with the Education Act of 1906.

"Subsequent Acts have provided play centres and free

medical inspection for the children, and attempted to provide proper medical care for infants. The Children Act of 1908 contained a host of provisions, dealing with every phase of child life, from the protection of infant children, the prevention of burns, the correction of juvenile criminals, and the treatment of children in industrial schools, to the prohibition of juvenile smoking."

One of the outstanding lessons to be learnt from the experiences of the School Medical Service in England is the importance which attaches to the open-air method of education. The far-reaching consequences of this method are being appreciated more and more as the years roll by, and to-day open air education occupies a very large space in the programme of the Local Education authorities in England. To the East, this is of special interest; as it is in accordance with Eastern traditions and ideals and in conformity with the surroundings of our rural areas. This is one of the points in regard to which the East and the West can be easily made to meet. Hence the following words of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education in England, in his Annual Report for the year 1916, come home to us in India with a special force for more than one reason:—

"Elaborate and expensive buildings are not required. Temporary buildings, such as the hutments used in military camps, are sufficient, provided that suitable arrangements are made whereby the children are kept warm, dry, and well fed. The essential point is life in the open air—a new way of living, the practice of hygiene, the restoration to the town child of the wholesomeness of life, and the prevention of disablement."

If in India we lack both men and money in our educational endeavours, we, perhaps, lack money more than willing workers, and the emphatic assurance that elaborate and expensive buildings are not required for open-air education ought to be full of encouragement to us.

Let us listen, further, to these words of the Chief Medical Officer written in 1917:—

“During the past three years, the nation has had a valuable object lesson of the benefits to be derived from an open-air life. Thousands of men, who have been withdrawn from the urban areas of the country to undergo camp training in the army, manifested an obvious and substantial improvement in their physical condition. No one can measure the national gain that will accrue from this increased physical well-being, even as no one can estimate the loss in defective and devitalised man-power which the nation has sustained for many years, due to the lack of appreciation, and even systematic neglect, of the value to the human body of fresh air and sunlight. The open-air school is a simple and economical way of applying a method of natural education to the susceptible body and mind of the child, who is also insensibly taught under such favourable conditions to recognise and value some of the fundamental principles which underlie a hygienic way of life. Fresh air, exercise, cleanliness, rest, regular meals, careful supervision form a series of conditions as certain in their beneficial physical effect as they are conducive to the creation of a mental atmosphere favourable to the opening mind.”

I have no desire to enter into the technicalities of the subject. But the following short extract from a note on the physiological advantages of open air, written by Dr. Leonard Hill, F.R.S., some time Professor of Physiology in the Medical School of the London Hospital, will interest us all:—

“Our people nowadays are generally too sheltered by clothes and confined dwellings and are weakened by over-coddling. The vastly improved health, vigour and manhood of our conscripts taken from desk, shop or factory and put to the open-air life shows how much ill-health and deficient vigour arises from sedentary confined occupations. Exposure to the cooling influence of outside air tones up the

body through the cutaneous nerves and leads to the taking of muscular exercise to keep up the body heat—thus metabolism is maintained at a high level, appetite and digestion kept vigorous, the breathing deepened, the circulation of the blood invigorated, and the abdominal organs massaged by the deep breathing and the muscular movements—an operation most essential to the well-being of the body. The sedentary confined worker housed in tenements suffers the atrophy of disuse, and misses that enjoyment of life that comes from perfect physical health, which is the possession and heritage of the wild animal. Children should be stimulated by an open-air life to be active, to eat and grow.”

When next we come to details and note the various ways in which the Open Air Method of Education is being applied in Public Elementary Schools in England, our encouragement is all the greater. For chief of these are:—

- (a) Classes held in playgrounds.
- (b) Classes held in public parks and open spaces.
- (c) School journeys.
- (d) Holiday camps.

We, in Bengal, would naturally ask where is the difficulty, especially in connection with schools situated in rural areas, in resorting to these at once ?

In my foregoing remarks, I have confined myself to the male portion of our school-going population. The experience of the School Medical Service in England has also emphasised the importance of the teaching of Mothercraft. As we read in one of the reports of the Board of Education—

“If the school girls of this generation are to become the wise mothers of the next, they must be taught the elements of Mothercraft. That seems a simple and self-evident proposition, but its truth does not seem to be generally accepted. Yet it would be difficult to exaggerate the

importance, and even urgency, of the teaching of Mothercraft to girls and young women. If every woman understood the ordinary care and management of herself and her baby, much discomfort, malnutrition, sickness and even subsequent mortality would be avoided, and the burden of maternal suffering would be immensely relieved." In England the teaching of Mothercraft is divided conveniently into three periods:—

- (1) Instruction to elder girls at the Elementary Schools.
- (2) Instruction to girls from 14 to 18 years of age.
- (3) Instruction to married women.

In Bengal, until there is an appreciable uplifting of the average marriageable age of our girls, the second category is likely to be merged in the third.

Here I should like to make a passing reference to the great work which the Ladies' Branch of the National Indian Association in Bengal has inaugurated under the inspiring guidance of Dr. Bentley and his co-adjutors.

Through lectures, exhibitions and demonstrations mainly intended for its own members, the Association is making an earnest effort to reach the Indian household in a thorough-going practical fashion and to spread sound and scientific ideas regarding child rearing and other cognate matters.

Dr. Bentley, in one of his explanatory notes on Child-Welfare work in general urges "that we require to ascertain what forms of child-welfare work are actually being undertaken in Bengal at present. A number of institutions already exist which are carrying on some form of child-welfare work. Most of these aim at reaching bigger children only. I think, however, we should get full information as to what is being done or attempted in every branch of child-welfare work in order that we may be in a better position to advise Government in regard to this huge problem of child-welfare in Bengal."

If a whole-time School Medical Service, such as I am

pleading for, be organised in this Province, it would, no doubt, be the business of that Service to co-ordinate the efforts of the various institutions that Dr. Bentley is thinking of, and the full information that Dr. Bentley rightly considers to be a necessary preliminary in this connection would be available.

I feel that to-day my appeal for a School and College Medical Service will not fall on deaf ears, for, through the generous efforts of our present Vicerene, Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford, the whole of India is pervaded with a new-born consciousness of communal responsibility in regard to child-welfare. And the feelings which are uppermost in my mind on the present occasion are the dominant feelings in the mind of many, namely, that "There is no waste so irretrievable as that of a nation which is careless of its rising generation," and that "The existence and strength of a nation depend upon the survival of its children and their physical and mental health."

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF EDUCATION.

BY JOHN BUTLER BURKE, M.A. (Dublin and Camb.).

IN the various pursuits which occupy the attention of men, and now-a-days of women too, the capacity to originate places those who are gifted with the creative faculty, far ahead of the multitude who, though able and active, may be without this heavenly endowment, this living grace and sacred legacy of the gods. For productiveness must be distinguished from progressiveness; since that which produces merely without producing something new, may rank with its produce beside the bee and her honeyed comb, adding not one iota to the quality of the result beyond that obtained by others. Ability and energy no doubt are postulated in our comparison; for originality without energy and the ability to do is of little value, and high gifts bestowed by nature become degenerated and abused, not to say wasted, with the refuse of inferior qualities.

It may safely be stated that, wherever there is a lack of originality, there also is a lack of living power, and therefore with a circumscribed field for conscious effort; whilst the energy consumed tends to be moulded into stereotyped forms. Earnestness to achieve and originative power must be combined ere the magic of ideas can lay bare the secret working of creation.

Of all subjects then Originality must ever exercise a singular fascination for enquiring minds; and the analysis of its nature as well as the secret of its workings,—or rather secrets, for there may be many,—cannot but prove a fruitful and stimulating enquiry to the student of psychology, as well as to the practical worker in whatever field of activity he may be engaged.

The unexpected and unaccounted-for appearance of genius at various times seems to be closely associated with periods when by suggestion the environment exercises its influence in awakening the resources of the subliminal self. That indefinable something which hinders the full play of the intellectual "faculties"—be it fear or moral cowardice, the absence of some great ideal, some undeveloped passion even or lack of a lofty ambition; or again irregularity of habit and inconstancy of purpose, some inhibition of nerve-force, as in the shyness of youth—may be overcome and ardour awakened when favourable occasions arise. And of all impediments there is none so pernicious as public opinion and none so deadly in its effect in early life as the injurious power of cynicism, and of authority unduly exercised. The development of the mind is particularly concerned with the subconscious faculties, for which not emulation but immaculation of the deeper self is essential to growth. Hence the presence of small intelligences warps the development of the finer instincts and those attendant emotions which might lead up to the full assertion of the better self. Depth of consciousness and grandeur of soul, as well as enhancement of the intellect, arising from an ardour for the sublime and a love of knowledge for its own sake,—these virtues cannot but be deadened by associating with nonentities and commonplace people, as is frequently the case at school.

... In the individual, as in the race, the incessant activity of the unconscious parts of the mind frequently gives rise to ideas the connection of which with the normal train of thought is not in accordance with any known laws of rational association. This may be, and most probably is, the result of associations proceeding in the subliminal self. But their relationship to those passing at the moment through the conscious self are apparently irrelevant.

It is therefore the power of seizing upon these scattered subliminal suggestions and drawing them into the

conscious stream of thought that leads to the formation of a new system of ideal connections, the why and the wherefore of which is as yet a marvel to psychologists.

Much attention has been given of late to this subject, and in the analysis of the subconscious, following upon the lines opened up by Freud and Jung, there has been developed the theory that originality springs from the subliminal part of human personality.

Mr. Knowlson's work* views the limitless depths and boundless expanse of human consciousness in its great range of possible development.

There are various ways of looking at this question, and the precise definition of originality, whether in science, or in literature, in art, or any of the numerous spheres of intellectual activity in which creative "faculties" play a part is not altogether definite, since the influence the environment exerts and the innate tendency to imitation which human nature reveals, necessarily detract from the precise creative element in genius, as it also limits the application of these terms to apparently new and neglected lines of thought.

"So far from being a matter of inbreeding, it is mind working on its own higher planes, and this has a natural history as well as natural laws of operation." The object of many in fact is to show that this is so. Not as Henry Drummond might have tried to prove, that the heaven-born genius and the mystic are different species from the commonplace man, but that he possesses an innate property common to all. The presence of a faculty which enables him to think on a *higher plane* may in itself distinguish the genius from the ordinary man, as the faculty of reason separates man from the lower creation. Following the Cartesian doctrine, however, it may be maintained that all men are potential geniuses. The exercise of this higher faculty is the result either of natural or artificial

* *Originality*, by T. Sharper Knowlson. T. Werner Laurie. 15s. net.

growth. But growth it is, abnormal though it be. And Plato and Newton, and Beethoven and the calculating boy from the slums are all giants or overgrown samples of intellectual beings. The presence of a "faculty" in the case of exceptional genius, akin to that of mediums who can read by touch, is admitted, and the subconscious self which is regarded as the seat or power-house of genius is held to be the common property of our race.

There is a certain amount of sympathy in all minds, but the original mind, as Mr. Knowlson remarks, has "*a margin of difference* which causes the new standards to be set up and the new values to be created." The imitation consists in absorbing the ideas that already exist and the difference lies in the creation, and behind all this the unconscious-self plays a part as mysterious in the present state of our knowledge as it is unfathomable.

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Unless originality be tempered by good judgment, it is more likely to do harm than good. In fact it has frequently done so in the past. Originality should be useful: yet apparently useless or even dangerous originality should have perfect freedom to assert itself and should not be unduly repressed. This applies to ideas passing through the individual mind, as well as to abnormal or eccentric characters in the crowd. Only by careful sifting are the useful ones, as by a process of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest, actually secured. Hence persons of great self-control are seldom conspicuous for their originality. Although there are no doubt exceptions to the rule, they do not "let themselves go" in public. As in most rules, however, the combination of self-control and impulsiveness, which is the exception, does not fail to give the best results, particularly when they are delicately balanced, a slight excess either way producing excellent effect, particularly under the sense of wealth of resource.

The problem of originality, as, for instance, Greek originality, is thus fraught with many difficulties. It is, however, extremely unlikely that the innate qualities of the mind were much greater at that period than at any other in the history of Greece : and it is therefore probable that the environment—using the term in its widest and strictly scientific sense, as including every circumstance that influences the individual apart from his hereditary qualities,—was the moulding force in Greece at the time and immediately preceding the age of Pericles.

This rousing of the Titan in man is one of the problems of psychology in the light of the theory of the subconscious. It is also *the* problem of education in its most modern aspect. According to Freud dreams do in most instances throw much light on the workings of the subconscious in its relation to this intuition, and extensive research has been carried out in this direction. In particular one point should be clearly borne in mind. The theory of the subconscious as elaborated by Freud is, largely speaking, based upon unsatisfied sexual desires, and by Jung it is attributed to aspirations towards unattained or unattainable objects. With them may be associated the craving for *self-expression* and *intellectual creation* by artistic genius in which it is associated with sensibility, the sexual element being merely disguised. For sexuality is the cause of *elan vital* as manifested in *libido* according to Freud's theories as developed by Jung. The flashes of waking dreams are as much influenced by this subconscious self as the lucid inspirations of the waking moments immediately succeeding sleep, so remarkable for their clearness and appositeness. Following the impression of the *infra-conscious*, with a singularity characteristic of dreams themselves, the subconscious controls the flow of thought, and innumerable illustrations of the extraordinary influences of this hidden self on the train of ideas, not only in sleep, but in the workings of consciousness in the

waking moments may be found in the works of these writers.

With the nature of dreams we will not concern ourselves at the moment.

The relationships between sexual instincts and the subconscious if not properly developed and regulated, disturb the harmonious working of the nervous system in various ways, and cravings of genius may not always appear to be associated with these at first sight, since the passion is not necessarily sexual but rather one for "self-expression," a form of *libido*, no doubt, possessing *survival value*. The pursuit is not for some material object of love and affection, but for a cherished ideal, though the ardour of the pursuit is not less intense, than that of the lover for the loved one, and the bitterness of failure even greater. In either case, however, the subconscious exercises an overwhelming influence upon the conscious mind, and many of the apparently unaccountable promptings of the inner consciousness attributed to intuition, are the results of these secret activities of the subliminal self. As to the precise nature of these functions, whether they be the sum total of past experiences from birth upwards, stored in the recesses of the brain as memory ; or whether, as William James supposed, they are due to external influences, or some innate faculty not yet fully realised, future investigation may decide. Little is at present known, though many volumes have been written on it.

The subconscious is the store-house of passive impressions as well as of innate ideas which, held in reserve, either stimulate the mind into activity in its dreaming or uncontrolled moods, or else rouses the semi-conscious Titan of the hidden self under deliberate efforts to act in harmony with the conscious higher faculties of thought ; imparting an intensity of feeling to the reasoning and critical process, giving it the force and energy of conscious strength and an intellectual momentum which is realised

in self-expression. This mental inertia prevails in all its performances, such as the average person neither requires nor manifests in his ordinary work, but none the less may deeply feel the need of when exertions of great magnitude are required.

The force of concentration, much as it may inhibit feelings foreign to the thought of the moment, necessarily intensifies the intellect, on the one hand, as the tool of mental operations, whilst it may blunt and dull the sympathies for the amenities of social life. Hence the creative power of thought, or constructiveness, gathers all the available mental energy into itself, with the necessary feeling of continuity, constancy and enthusiasm for the attainment of the object in view. Intense concentration of this nature, the "power of intention" as designated by Newton, draws upon the resources of the intuitive powers, availing itself of memory and imagination before the tribunal of the judgment.

These intuitive powers then, both for their directness, assimilative property, power of selection, and apparently inexhaustible wealth of resource, constituting as they do the subconscious part of the mental process, are undoubtedly the characteristic features of many rare mental performances, and in drawing upon the subconscious or subliminal self, the higher self which some regard as the true one, reveals the mine of reserve force concealed in the recesses of its own personality. This Titan within is lifted to the surface as we say under the influence of an internal striving. And in the presence of such colossal nerve force the personality acquires both its apparent magnetism and mental power, as if under the influence of external sources of energy, giving at once a freshness and vigour, with an apparently unlimited supply of energy in reserve.

Thus the human mind is in reality made up of two minds usually known as the conscious and subconscious. It is capable of auto-suggestion, so that the conscious controls

the unconscious which in turn has complete control over the functions and sensations of the body. This dual character, though dimly recognised by many philosophers in the past, has gradually assumed by the researches of the past century from Mesmer onwards, a more definite aspect. Normally the unconscious mind is controlled by the conscious, as Liebhault of the Nancy school has shown. The principle was applied by him only to hypnotic phenomena; but it has since been extended to the relation between the conscious and unconscious minds generally and there is very strong evidence in support of the hypothesis, that the unconscious is always controllable by suggestion. It is obvious that if this principle be true, there must be "a distinctive line of difference between the methods of operation of the two minds."* The line of demarcation between them, however, is in the nature of the reasoning powers. The subconscious has, it is said, an extreme accuracy of logical deduction, but no power to formulate its own premises, and it is *incapable of inductive reasoning*. Nevertheless, as a perfect reasoning machine, it is controllable under the influence of suggestion, whether hypnotic or otherwise, when in the receptive state, and can perform feats of the most marvellous skill and audacity, seldom realised in the normal state. This remarkable power of the subjective and unconscious mind is the striking feature in genius, when the conscious and subconscious co-operate as one; reacting upon each other with ever increasing effect towards a maximum which in some cases may never be reached: as the asymptote approaches the hyperbola it never touches save at infinity.

The power of suggestion, even auto-suggestion, in directing thoughts and feelings so as to arouse the proper disposition, is then one of the triumphs of modern psychology. The presence of one or two great minds

* See T. H. Hudson's "The Law of Psychic Phenomena."

do much to arouse enthusiasm and inspire creative thought in many, and the ready response it commands, through sympathetic sensibility, frequently produce the required result. Next, thought arising from the awakening of the critical powers, provided it is not purely destructive criticism but of the nature of a restraint, enables the mind to glide smoothly along its own individual lines of thought. Hence the magic power of a more or less unconscious suggestion, sets free the hidden recesses of the store-house of ideas, and pours upon the obscure subject a flood of unexpected light.

Auto-suggestion may take various forms, from praying before a crucifix to gazing at the clouds or the stars when the desired inspiration is required, to walking alone in a Gothic cloister or beneath the blossoming branches of an Acacian grove. Its effect in churches is to inspire devotion and in the academic seminary or college, the love and pursuit of knowledge. Whilst the psychological explanation is that a mild and useful form of semi-hypnotic suggestion occurs admitting of ready verification.

In Greece there was no Gothic architecture, but none the less an inspiring material surrounding, and this when combined with the ardour of one or two outstanding personalities, elevated the ideals, as the Acacian grove might elevate the eye, and direct its energies to some lofty purpose.

This cultivation of the sense of the intellectual is the outcome of high purpose, self-sacrifice and an abstinence from the grosser pleasures of life. In its acquirement there is involved the necessary pruning of the character, by auto-suggestion, and hetero-suggestion, for as the twig is bent so is the tree inclined. Heliotrophy is the turning of plants towards the sun, and if the sun could stand still they would remain pointing in one direction. So may we conceive a certain form of anthropotrophy, through which the presence

of Socrates once turned the faces of all people towards him. For as the sun bears light, so does a luminary of thought draw all intellectual forces towards it.

In the idea of Christ as it has been handed down to us, there was clearly the genius of Divine Love, and His disciples who were at first common men, acquired the genius which the Divine Idea inspired. Whether the Apostles did or did not speak in "divers tongues" is a question for the scientific historian, but no absurdity whatever is involved in the suggestion of a hypnotic influence through His personality. That the Holy Ghost appeared as "flames of fire" is in itself, if true, as many believe it to be, indicative of the profound subjective intensity of the emotions so aroused. Of all men to whom the term genius of the highest order might be applied, there is none whose influence has excelled all others, and whose personality stands out so pre-eminently amongst men as His. How far the idea of Christ that has been handed down to us is accurate or exaggerated, distorted as it perhaps has been to some extent by enthusiasts through that dense medium, the obscure intellectual fog of the middle ages, which separates us from His day, is a matter for the scientific historian and student of the history of evidence to elucidate as much as for the student of divinity. But that His influence was unique cannot be doubted, any more than that of Socrates: and, as we know, it has been more permanent.

This secret spring, which we would all release, if we could, to draw forth the magic resources of the intellect; this nervous power is perhaps, after all, not the common property of the race, and if it is so, then only in an atrophied or undeveloped form. Still, there may be and probably is some means of discerning it, so as to stimulate its energy into action by some process which the student of psychology may yet discover. Teachers are not always profound psychologists, and the professional educationalists

are frequently the crushing forces of the most delicate nerves and sensitive natures.

Many a person of exceptional powers has hidden his light under a bushel through life from the discouraging influence of some apathetic teacher ; or because of some minor defect which unheeded by neglect has hindered the development of his finer self or caused its atrophy through indirect means. The emotional element is an important and disturbing factor. A man of nervous temperament but first-rate ability may appear at a great disadvantage in the examination hall if he loses his head : and one with great oratorical gifts may fail through lack of self-confidence. Indolence, disorderly habits or lack of purpose, and dilettante tastes, may conceal many a hidden treasure, and the owners thereof may be counted amongst the failures of life and thrown into the dust-bin of oblivion. On the other hand, many of inferior capacity may keep for ever in the lime-light and in some instances earn immortal fame—though such cases are rare—by the force of character, energy, and the dogged-as-does-it of the bull-dog tenacity. “The transcendent capacity of taking pains first of all”, ignores the real things, of whose presence only first-hand evidence of the living personality and its work can attest. That magic spell, that heavenly flame not readily missed by any competent observer, like wit and humour, may fail to be recognised by critics lacking in the essential qualities of discernment and appreciation.

As Mr. Havelock Ellis has well said :—“There is nothing we have to fight for more strenuously than Individuality,” while Emerson avers that “Society is a conspiracy against the independence of each of its members.” Thus the influence of the environment for good or for evil plays an important part in the awakening of the inner consciousness, and its cultivation. *But the essence of education is that the true self must be discovered, and when once discovered retained.* In the vast majority of

cases it is occasionally discovered and almost immediately lost sight of. Like most special gifts, however, special disposition and the power it stimulates depend largely upon education, but of education of a subtle kind, which only the teacher with a profound knowledge of the perversities of human nature and a deep sympathy with the idiosyncrasies of individuals in their tender growth, can successfully draw forth into blossom. The natural tastes and aversions exercise an overwhelming influence upon the direction of mental development. And here once more the influence of environment, destructive as it may be in the majority of cases, has in a few precisely the opposite effect.

The power of example and the influence of knowledge which can be grasped and cultivated through sympathy, except in truly indolent persons, the love of mental exercise and the bond of intellectual love for knowledge, the serious and natural affection for truth, become the links uniting the self to reality. As soon as this link is formed the salvation of the pupil is secured. When the prey is perceived it must be pounced upon. If it is missed, it may be lost for ever. Every side of the character must be studied and carefully watched for an early sign of creative thought. When there is no interest in a subject, then also for the time being there is an absence of true intelligence, and when there is no vividness, or trace of imagination, the intellectual faculties for the time being are non-existent.

And so *the true self must be discovered and when discovered retained*. Every human being is made up of a score of apparent personalities through varying dispositions or passing moods; "complexes" of the subconscious asserting themselves, only one of which preponderates and rules at a time. Occasionally indeed two and in very exceptional cases three or more may do so, but such cases, being abnormal, are invariably unbalanced. The potential personalities in healthy human beings must not be confused with the results of these complexes.

There should be no desire to cultivate multi-personalities, the results of which would be disastrous. None the less the object of education should be to develop a personality of a certain type; and sufficient attention is not paid to the discovery of the best type in early life so that particular attention may be given to it. This in fact is the problem which the study of the education of the personality must keep in mind in promoting the productive and progressive capacity of the individual.

Heredity no doubt, as we have said, plays an important part in the development of strength, health, beauty and natural ability. But, there is little reason to suppose that the periods of genius in human history were remarkable on the whole (any more than the lives of such individuals themselves) for the influence of heredity. The environment, natural and artificial, has the preponderating influence, and frequently this is an accidental circumstance, though one of overwhelming importance. In the case of Shakespeare it was a natural influence in which the preponderating personality was of the proper sort. But minor Shakespeares may be drawn out by careful sifting of the seed and soil and pruning of the divergent branches. How difficult must such a process be in actual education! The child should be influenced by *suggestion, more suggestion, continual suggestion* till it is semi-hypnotised into the proper state of mind. It is the method used in religious education, particularly by the Roman Catholic. And those who have taken a course of mind-training have in more than ninety-nine cases out of a hundred testified to the effectiveness of the various methods adopted in cultivating the power of concentration, of originating ideas, and strengthening the will towards the attainment of a desired end. A vigorous discipline and supreme but rational self-confidence, a moral courage, is as essential in the tackling of problems, in the creation of new ideas, in the writing of a poem, or in the composition of a sonata, in the making of a speech

to five thousand listeners, as in the management of affairs and the conduct of life. And the power of attention, of putting one's mind down to a subject, of throwing the whole weight of one's resources of apperception upon an idea, the force of one's whole mind and soul, becomes an irresistible "push" which breaks through both the resistance of the impeding object and the internal resistance of the subliminal personality where many a motive idea lies dormant in lethargic repose.

The gate-ways of knowledge are opened up by the enlargement of the area of consciousness, which in turn is extended by the increase of knowledge—a sort of compound interest effect. A humorous atmosphere tends to draw out the wit that otherwise might remain silent. It is in truth a singular fact that this responsiveness through *sympathy*, akin perhaps in some respects to mimicry or imitation, has its source in a disposition which the environment inspires. Originality dependent as it is upon a keen interest, obviously implies more: this is a necessary condition, though not a sufficient one, as mathematicians would say; since enthusiasts are not always geniuses, but geniuses are always enthusiastic. Concentration, plus imagination, creates fresh ideas, largely by the use of analogies and comparisons, and the rational or aesthetic constructiveness, a necessary part of the creative faculty with the ideal before it, gives the artistic or finishing touch to the creative work.

Whether these qualities can be aroused in the normally constituted person is open to grave doubt. But when the marvellous phenomena of auto-suggestion are borne in mind, the vast possibilities in this direction are unquestionably increased. It is a matter for experiment, and many such have already been tried with astounding results, such as hypnotism, upon abnormal persons, who, in a sense, no doubt, are geniuses in disguise. It is conceivable that in the hypnotic state some highly strung but very ordinary

person may be made to perform feats akin to those of a genius, but no amount of hypnotism could make one devoid of these innate qualities do so. The problem does not admit of a simple solution by mesmeric means, for normal persons are not easily hypnotised. Under the influence of careful education, however, in which attention is paid to the influence of regular and persistent suggestion, of the proper kind, for the purpose of arousing an interest which in time develops into an intense interest and enthusiasm leading to attention and concentration, strengthens the imagination, the memory or the will, and in innumerable instances it has been found to give new life and vigour to the body and fresh energy to the mind, by methods based upon the scientific training of the "faculties" to the best advantage. This system of education which has been evolved in recent years, offers an advantage to the student of psychology, which research in this direction cannot afford to overlook. The methods it adopts and the results derived from them, afford a substantial basis for the belief held by many that the constitution and working of the normal mind admit of a development hitherto unrealised by students of experimental psychology.

It is clear that the awakening of the creative mind is influenced by suggestion, and the effect of this on the emotions. The highly-strung temperament, approximating in many instances to the hysterical, is frequently an attendant of genius. This sensitive and nervous disposition tends to take in, retain and reproduce the impressions made upon it. Is it not true to assert then that, to a very large extent, "brains" are stimulated nerves? An inspiration of genius is in a sense a veritable brain-storm in which the sense of rhythm and order brings forth the creation of art from a chaos of ideas, even as a solar system is supposed to have evolved from the scattered materials of a nebular cosmos? And might not the idealistic creation

itself reproduce the subconscious working of a secret process? The method of tapping this hidden self, not uncommon even in normal individuals, is the problem which confronts the student, and still more the teacher, of psychology. In education it is the question of all questions, although at present perhaps beyond the scope of ordinary pedagogues, but in its practical application it has already received the attention, and that with remarkable success, of the more enlightened amongst them. At the universities the methods of training employed are no doubt less modern, but the attention paid to physical exercise on the one hand, and competitive examinations on the other, together with the stimulating influence of surroundings, do no doubt on the whole produce good results, though often but haphazardly. When there is added to this the exercise of the higher mental faculties encouraged in the pursuit of original research, the mind emerges therefrom with many of its faculties sharpened and though again perhaps lacking in the practical side of life. There still remains the need of a more scientific method than that which is at present in vogue to supplement these imperfections, when so much fatalism is rampant, and so much ability is postulated rather than evolved. The application of newer methods to the student's work will do much to increase the efficiency and develop the latent talents of the rising generation. And if this working of the subconscious can be developed or aroused, the increased nimbleness thus stimulated cannot fail to give to the intellect so trained a consciousness of power which, whether it draws forth the inspiration of the gods or not, must implant in the mind so cultivated the sense of quickened activity, of higher ideals, of unlimited resource; from the boundless experience stored in its subconscious memory from its earliest years. A power thus cultivated by which the intellectual level of mankind and in particular of our countrymen, may be assured through-

the persistent suggestion of the right ideas and the formation of the proper habits through inculcation, practice and example. In truth, by the cultivation of the right desires and the irresistible determination through their aid to move on, against all opposition, to one's goal in life, by the persistent influence of suggestion, particularly in the most impressionable years of youth, so that as the twig is bent the tree may be inclined and the subconscious reserve force may be directed to the proper end.

JOHN BUTLER BURKE.

INDIAN ALLUSIONS IN THACKERAY'S : WRITINGS.

BY P. R. KRISHNASWAMI, M.A.

AMONG the accidents of Indian connections which can be traced in the life of many an English author is that of Thackeray's birth in Calcutta, in 1811. Indeed, Thackeray's relations who served in India were numerous enough to need a book by Sir William Hunter on the "Thackerays in India." Unlike Kipling, who, born in Bombay, began his literary career in India also, Thackeray left India for good when he was only six years old, in 1817. Unlike Kipling too, who prided himself on having been born in "no mean city," Thackeray's reference to his birth in India is somewhat different. Lecturing on Swift, he says. "He was no more an Irishman than a man born of English parents at Calcutta is a Hindoo."¹ It is not known whether Thackeray had ever thought of pursuing a career in India. If possibly he did, he should have answered to himself in the words which he put into the mouth of Colonel Newcome: "I would rather be the author of a work of genius, than be Governor-General of India."² It may be thought that no more knowledge of India will have been retained by Thackeray than of Queen Anne by Dr. Johnson, who was given the royal touch as a child for the "king's evil" and the subject of Thackeray's connection with India is apt to be summarily dismissed. But the evidence of his writings actually points to a long-cherished memory of India and an ever-recurring allusion to its affairs.

¹ "English Humourists of the 18th Century" (Everyman's Library), page 14.
² The "Newcomes" (Oxford Edition, 1864), page 48.

The voyage from India in 1817 left a lasting impression on the novelist. In his lecture of "George the Third" he says: "I came from India as a child, and our ship touched at an island on the way home, where my black servant took me a long walk over rocks and hills until we reached a garden, where we saw a man walking. 'That is he,' said the black man: 'that is Bonaparte! He eats three sheep every day, and all the little children he can lay hands on!' There were people in the British dominions besides that poor Calcutta serving-man, with an equal horror of the Corsican ogre."³ Bonaparte at St. Helena is alluded to three or four times in the "Newcomes." When Charles Honeyman writes to the Colonel of the safe arrival of Clive Newcome in England by the ship *Ramchunder*, he mentions the boy's visit to Bonaparte's tomb.⁴ (There is an anachronism here, because Napoleon died only in 1821, and the date of Charles Honeyman's letter should be inferred to be 1820.) Witnessing Mr. Merryman's jokes in the ring in London, in the company of children, Colonel Newcome is amazed "at the prodigious likeness of the principal actor to the Emperor Napoleon, whose tomb he had visited on his return from India."⁵ The little Gascon at Baden rushing with a glove against Lord Kew "made a furious speech about England, leopards, cowardice, insolent islanders, and Napoleon at St Helena."⁶ When the Colonel is greeted in London on his arrival there, the ladies ask him: "Did you come by St Helena? Oh how I envy you seeing the tomb of that great man."⁷

To Thackeray one of the fascinating topics of boy-life is that of tips from relations. Clive Newcome recounts a long list of them received by him. Writing on "Turnbridge Toys" Thackeray says: "In that very term (the

³ "The English Humourists and the Four Georges" (Everyman's Library), page 353.

⁴ Page 35.

⁵ Page 205.

⁶ Page 457.

⁷ Page 92.

year is previously mentioned as 1823) a relation of mine was going to India. I actually was fetched from school in order to take leave of him My relation, about to cross the ocean to fill a lucrative appointment, asked me with much interest about my progress at school, heard me construe a passage of Eutropius, the pleasing Latin work on which I was then engaged ; gave me a God bless you, and sent me back to school ; upon my word of honour, without so much as a half-crown !”⁸ Could the original of this “relative” be Bishop Heber who left for India in 1823 ? Thackeray mentions with warm praise Heber’s name in the lecture on “George IV”, and quotes the lines which the Bishop wrote to his wife from India, beginning with :

If thou, my love, wert by my side, my babies at my knee,
How gladly would our pinnace glide o’er Gunga’s mimic sea !⁹

All the important novels of Thackeray abound in Indian allusions. “Vanity Fair” was published in 1847. Joseph Sedley, the Collector of Boggleywallah, is drawn for the special delectation of readers. “He had lived for about eight years of his life, quite alone, at this charming place, scarcely seeing a Christian face except twice a year, when the detachment arrived to carry off the revenues which he had collected to Calcutta.”¹⁰ On his return to England he lacks general sociability and quite a pointed incident is that the joke he practised on Becky Sharp by asking her to try a chili with the Indian curry she was eating in his house.¹¹ Major Dobbin is a Madras officer whose simplicity and kindness are exceptional. Miss Glorvina O’Dowd, sister of Colonel Sir Michael O’Dowd, tries in vain to set her cap on the Major. Lady O’Dowd is described as follows : “In adversity she was the best of comforters, in good fortune

⁸ “The Oxford Thackeray,” Vol. XVII, page 415.

⁹ “The English Humourists and the Four Georges” (Everyman’s Library), page 419.

¹⁰ “Vanity Fair,” page 27

¹¹ Page 29.

the most troublesome of friends; having a perfectly good opinion of herself always, and an indomitable resolution to have her own way." ¹² Of Miss Glorvina we learn among other things: "She had flirted all the way to Madras with the Captain and chief mate of the *Ramchunder* East India-man." ¹³ These temptations on board an Indiaman were proverbial. Macaulay has remarked on them. Touching Miss Menie Gray's voyage to Madras, Scott writes in the "Surgeon's Daughter": "A good decent girl, and kept the mates and guinea-pigs at a respectable distance." The present writer extracted the following in that connection from a letter addressed by a lady in India to her cousin at home in 1779 in Mackintosh's Travels: "I promise you to me it was no slight penance to be exposed during the whole voyage to the half-sneering satirical looks of the mates and guinea-pigs, and it would have been intolerable, but for the good conduct and politeness of Captain S." ¹⁴

The ship *Ramchunder* figures in each of the three novels "Vanity Fair," "Pendennis" and the "Newcomes," and the "great Captain Bragg" ¹⁵ is mentioned several times. May not Captain Manning be the original of Bragg? We may cite here Heber's testimony regarding the excellent character of this officer. Under date 25th December 1823, the Bishop writes: "Captain Manning joined his ship at Saugor at the same time, with a promise that when he next returns here, he is again to become our guest. He is an excellent man, warm and single-hearted beyond most I know, of considerable talent in his profession and in mechanics, and of very pleasing unaffected manners. During the time he had been with us, I have had an opportunity of knowing his character thoroughly, and am very glad to be able to rank him among the number of my friends." ¹⁶ It

¹² Page 544.

¹³ Page 545.

¹⁴ Quoted in Carey's, "The Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company."

¹⁵ "Vanity Fair," page 733.

¹⁶ Heber's "Indian Journal" (1844), Vol. I, page 42.

is not surprising that Captain Bragg should mention that at the Calcutta Government House, "His lordship and Lady William was as kind to me, and shook hands with me before the whole company and asking me at dinner to take beer with him, before the Commander-in-Chief himself."¹⁷ In a letter, dated 16th December 1823, Heber writes: "Captain Manning went yesterday, having taken charge of Emily and her little girl as far as the Sand-heads; they are to be very little on shore, but are to cruise about the roads during the day, and return at night to anchor."¹⁸ From this, it should not surprise us to know that Miss Snell in "Pendennis" was entrusted to the charge of Captain Bragg when she went to India first and also on her return from India for good.

When Major Dobbin took leave to proceed home on urgent affairs "he arrived at Madras in a high fever." "He was almost a skeleton when they put him on board the *Ramchunder*, Captain Bragg, from Calcutta touching at Madras; and so weak and prostrate," that it was feared he might not survive the voyage.¹ Recording his voyage from Calcutta to Madras in February, 1826, Bishop Heber mentions the sick passengers on board, among them being one "wasted by fever to a living skeleton." "The surgeon of the ship expressed great fears that all three would share the fate of a poor baby who died on board, and find their graves before they reached Europe."²⁰

When Joseph Sedley goes home to England the same time as Dobbin he takes with him an Indian servant "Loll Jewab," "of whom the boys about St. Martin's Lane used to make cruel fun whenever he showed his dusky countenance in the street,"²¹ and he was sent back to Calcutta. "Loll Jewab" was perhaps no other than Bishop Heber's faithful head-servant Abdulla. Mrs. Heber mentions in

¹ "Vanity Fair," page 732.

¹⁸ Vol. II, page 190.

¹⁹ "Vanity Fair," page 727

²⁰ Vol. II, page 173.

²¹ "Vanity Fair," page 756.

a foot-note that Abdulla "had travelled in Persia with Sir Gore Ouseley, and accompanied him to England, from whence he was returning in the *Grenville*, in a state of great poverty when the Bishop took him into his service as jemautdar, or head officer of the peons."²² This Abdulla was perhaps the same as he who took service under Colonel Meadows Taylor later.²³

Turning to "Pendennis," there is no lack of Indian connections. Major Pendennis had been in India. Far more peculiar characters are the Claverings. Lady Clavering had been Mrs. Amory before, and originally Miss Snell, her father being a rich attorney of Calcutta. On her voyage to India she had made the acquaintance of Mr. Amory who was third mate of the vessel and married him later. Of Mr. Amory we learn that he "set up as indigo-planter and failed—set up as agent and failed again—set up as editor of the *Sunderbund Pilot* and failed again." He later commits a forgery and he was compelled to flee to New South Wales. Finding India disagreeable, Mrs. Amory sailed away to England with her little daughter Betsy. The self-same *Ramchunder* with the self-same Captain Bragg brings her from India. The Captain was "perhaps ashamed, perhaps anxious, to get rid of the Indian lady."²⁴ Major Pendennis describes Miss Amory as follows: "She is forward, affected, and underbred; and her character is somewhat—never mind what."²⁵ Mr. Amory, who is believed to be dead, by his wife, turns up in England as "Colonel Altamont of the Bodyguard of His Highness the Nawaub of Lucknow."²⁶ He knows the false situation in which Sir Francis Clavering is placed and finds it to his own profit to blackmail him.

The Claverings and the "Colonel Altamont" cannot have absolute originals, but it will be interesting to put

²² Vol. I, page 65.

²³ Taylor's "Story of My Life," page 103 (cheap edition, 1903).

²⁴ "Pendennis," page 295.

²⁵ Page 475.

²⁶ Page 321.

together some real incidents and characters which bear similarity to the fiction. Amory's journalistic work may remind us of the precarious and profligate career of James Augustus Hickey, the first journalist in India.²⁷

A disreputable officer from Lucknow is mentioned by Macaulay in a letter dated 9th October 1844, whom he met on board a ship. We recognise perhaps Mrs. Amory and her daughter. "I became an object of attention to an ill-looking vulgar woman, who appeared to be the wife of my questioner; and to his daughter, a pretty girl enough, but by no means ladylike." The questioner tells Macaulay, "I went there (India) at sixteen, in 1800, and stayed till 1830, when I was superannuated." He discovers himself again: "Oh, Sir, you must have often heard of me. I am Mr.———. I was long at Lucknow." The "superannuation" had a tale of its own, and it was Mr. Trevelyan who brought it about.²⁸

In connection with the Claverings we may cite an eccentric character in David Ochterlony Dyce-Sombre, who, born in 1808, in India, went to England in 1838. This man was descended on his mother's side from Walter Reinhard, who married the Begum of Sirdhana (Sumroo). On the Begum's death Dyce inherited half a million sterling and his arrival in England created a great sensation not unlike that of the arrival of the Claverings. In 1840 he married a high-born lady and was elected to Parliament, but two years later he was unseated and in 1843 he was separated from his wife. He was allowed to remain in France on an allowance and he died in 1851.²⁹

The debased conduct of Amory (parading as Colonel Altamont) in making money out of the disgraceful situation of his wife having married another husband may be paralleled in one or two Anglo-Indian stories. That of Warren

²⁷ See Busted. "Echoes from Old Calcutta."

²⁸ Trevelyan's "Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay." (Enlarged and complete edition, 1908), pages 449, 450.

²⁹ Dictionary of National Biography.

Hastings who married the Baroness Imhoff after paying compensation to her husband is well known in Macaulay's essay. It has, however, been later pointed out that Baron Imhoff was by no means so despicable as Macaulay depicts him.³⁰ A more nearly related story perhaps is of Mr. Henry F. Thompson. He "apparently held an appointment in the marine service of the East India Company. This gentleman, on returning to England from a voyage to the East, met in low society, and became enamoured of a young person named Sarah Bonner," who was only sixteen years old, arranged for her being sent to Calcutta. Thompson became second officer of a ship in Bengal, and before he returned from a voyage, Sarah Bonner had arrived in Calcutta, in October, 1769. Mr. Richard Barwell, high in office, became an intimate friend of the couple, and after receiving various benefits from Barwell, Thompson discovers late that his wife's affections had been completely won by him. He was prepared to forgive Sarah if she left India but she was induced to stay, tempted by the high promotions that came to Barwell. She offered on his behalf an annuity to Thompson, to go away from India, and a deed of trust (March, 1772) was executed by Warren Hastings and Robert Sanderson by which Barwell was to pay £5,000 for the benefit of Sarah Thompson. Mr. Thompson was to go to China first giving out that it was his intention to return to Calcutta. Eventually he went to Europe and he was also deceived into a cessation of the annuity granted to him. He also published a book in 1780 giving his story to the world.³¹

"The Newcomes" is the novel which abounds most in Indian references. Colonel Newcome had been "five and thirty years" in India. The Colonel's intimate friend is Mr. James Binnie of the Bengal Civil Service. Sir Thomas

³⁰ See Busted: "Echoes from Old Calcutta."

³¹ *Ibid.*, pages 411 and following.

de Boots, one of the boon companions of Barnes Newcome had been of the Indian army. A deceitful Indian merchant is introduced in "Rummun Loll," who visits London, is lionised by the society there, and subsequently cheats the depositors in an Indian bank of which he had been a chief promulgator.

Of Colonel Newcome's identity many details are given. He has been at Assaye and at Argaum, battles of the second Mahratta war, in 1803. He wears a diamond brooch of 1801 "given him by poor Jack Cutler, who was knocked over by his side at Argaum, and wore this ornament in his desk for a thousand days and nights at a time."³² Colonel Newcome has fought against the Pindarees. Offended by an improper song, the Colonel rises with indignation in a London public house, "looking as ferocious as though he had been going to do battle with a Pindaree."³³ The Pindarees were at the height of their power to do mischief between 1805 and 1813. Their suppression was accomplished in Lord Hastings' time about the same time as the last Mahratta war.

Who can have been the Colonel's original? The Indian Colonel had appeared before in English fiction. Colonel Mannering in Scott's "Guy Mannering" has all the good qualities of Colonel Newcome with the added ones of shrewd wisdom and prudence in which the latter is lacking. The simplicity and tenderness of Colonel Newcome may perhaps be referred to Colonel (afterwards "Sir") Thomas Munro, who went to England in 1807 after 27 years of service in India. It was not without misgivings that Munro viewed his holiday at home. He felt he would be like fish out of water there with nothing to do. "As I am a stranger to the generous natives of your isle I should be excluded from every other line as well as military, and should have nothing to do but lie down in a field like

the farmer's boy and look at the lark sailing through the clouds." ³¹ Like Newcome, Munro also was perhaps trying to acquire literary learning. Mr. Elphinstone records the following in his diary for 28th May, 1820 : " Sir T. and Lady Munro went off. I am more than ever delighted with him ; besides all his old sound sense and dignity, all his old good humour, simplicity and philanthropy, Sir Thomas now discovered an acquaintance with literature, a taste and relish for poetry, and an ardent and romantic turn of mind, which counteracted the effect of his age and sternness, and gave the highest possible finish to his character. I felt as much respect for him as for a father, and as much freedom as with a father. He is certainly a man of great natural genius matured by long toil in war and peace." ³² Munro lived a bachelor the first 27 years of his stay in India. It may be noted that Thackeray had the means of knowing all about Munro through his uncle William Thackeray, who was the intimate and trusted lieutenant of Munro.

It is perhaps easier to identify Mr. James Binnie. Thackeray is said to have told Professor Masson that he had taken James Binnie directly from the life. ³³ He retires to England when he is only 42 or 43 years old, at the end of a period of 22 years in the Bengal service. He is the son of a writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, and he obtains a writership in India when he is about 20. "He has walked the hospitals of Edinburgh before getting his civil appointment in India." ³⁴ Colonel Newcome compliments Binnie on his great classical learning. Mr. Binnie also says that but for his Indian appointment he should have been a luminary of the faith and a pillar of the church. ³⁵ Was Thackeray thinking of John Leyden, who from being a Surgeon rose to be a Judge? But Leyden died in

³¹ Quoted on 42 in " Sir Thomas Munro " in the *Rulers of India Series*. (1894.)

³² *Ibid.*, page 78

³³ Saintsbury's Introduction to the " Newcomes," page 16.

³⁴ Page 172.

³⁵ Page 111.

the East and had no opportunity to live in England after retirement. We may, however, turn to Mountstuart Elphinstone who retired as Governor of Bombay in 1827 and went home in 1829. He was then 50 years old but he had 30 years more to live, and he rejected repeated offers of high office. What is said of James Binnie may well be applied to Elphinstone: "He was a man of great reading, no small ability, considerable accomplishment, excellent good sense and good humour."³⁹ Even as Mr. Binnie is a disciple of David Hume, Elphinstone was ardently devoted to Bentham. Elphinstone was a bachelor too. The following extract from Cotton's "Elphinstone" may be relevant: ". . . We hear . . . allusions to a hope of returning home overland, and a tour through Greece on the way, which was not to be realised for twelve years longer. Elphinstone calculated that five years' service was yet required before he could retire on £1,500 a year, and then he would be 42 years of age—too old to set up a wife and family, and likewise too old to mix in society, so as to be able to get on without them. . . ." ⁴⁰

We now turn to Rummun Loll, the Indian merchant prince of Calcutta. Colonel Newcome's loss of money in the Indian concern had no doubt its original in Thackeray's own similar loss in 1834. Regarding the collapse of the Bundelcund Banking Company the novelist comments as follows: "It was one of many similar cheats which have been successfully practised upon the simple folks, civilians and military, who toil and struggle—who fight with sun and enemy—who pass years of long exile and gallant endurance in the service of our empire in India. Agency houses after agency houses have been established, and have flourished in splendour and magnificence, and have paid fabulous dividends—and have enormously enriched two or three

³⁹ Page 109.

⁴⁰ "Elphinstone" (*Rulers of India Series*), page 92.

wary speculators—and then have burst in bankruptcy, involving widows, orphans, and countless simple people who trusted their all to the keeping of these unworthy treasure-hunters.”⁴¹ Macaulay describing the economical life he was able to lead in Calcutta during his stay there between 1834 and 1838 alludes to the failure of the Indian firms: “That tremendous crash of the great commercial houses which took place a few years ago has produced a revolution in fashions. It ruined one-half of the English society in Bengal, and seriously injured the other half. A large proportion of the most important functionaries here are deeply in debt, and, accordingly, the mode of living is now exceedingly quiet and modest.”⁴²

In his portraiture of Rummun Loll, it is not unlikely that Thackeray is actually drawing on his own personal knowledge of an Indian visitor in the London drawing-rooms. Probably it was Raja Rammohan Roy who was in England in 1831. That Rammohan Roy was a thoroughly great and honourable man is only very well known both in England and in India. But it is not unlikely that the sensation created in London social circles by his visit was beyond reasonable degrees, and a reaction, quite undeserved by the Raja himself, probably set in. In a letter, dated the 7th June 1831, Macaulay writes: “Yesterday I dined at Marshall’s, and was almost consoled for not meeting Rammohan Roy by a very pleasant party. The great sight was the two wits, Rogers and Sydney Smith.”⁴³ Later in the letter Macaulay records an unworthy exclamation from Sydney: “I told him that my meeting him was some compensation for missing Rammohan Roy.” Sydney broke forth: “Compensation! Do you mean to insult me? A beneficed clergyman, an orthodox clergyman, a nobleman’s chaplain, to be no more than compensation for a Brahmin; and a heretic Brahmin too, a fellow who has lost

⁴¹ “The Newcomes,” page 901.

Trevelyan’s “Macaulay,” page 308.

Ibid., page 157.

his own religion and can't find another. A man who has lost his caste! Who ought to have melted lead poured down his nostrils, if the good old Vedas were in force as they ought to be." Another observation may be hazarded that Richard Doyle's picture of Rummun Loll in the original illustrated edition of the "Newcomes" looks very much like that of Rammohan Roy. For the *character* of Rummun Loll we should turn to a different man from Rammohan Roy. Maharaja Chandu Lal, the minister of the Nizam, who was heavily in debt to the house of Palmer & Co., was a famous personality. Though a very able administrator he is depicted as rapacious and extravagant.⁴¹ Messrs. Palmer & Co. were permitted by the Governor-General to give the Nizam loans at what was discovered later to be the usual high rate of interest, and the state was reduced to a poor condition financially. The whole transaction was later characterised as "the plunder of the Nizam". Macaulay was engaged in enquiring into the affairs of Palmer & Co. He writes in a letter dated 20th September 1832: "There I stay till near five, examining claims of money lenders on the native sovereigns of India, and reading Parliamentary papers. I am beginning to understand something about the Bank, and hope, when next I go to Rothley Temple, to be a match for the whole firm of Mansfield and Babington on questions relating to their own business."⁴² This may lead us to understand something about Baines, Jolly & Co., the London agents of the B. & Co., in the "Newcomes". Nearly a million sterling had been borrowed of Palmer & Co. for the Nizam's Government and the money had practically been wasted. In 1820 when a loan of sixty lakhs was advanced special bonus of eight lakhs was to be paid to the company.

There are many little hints thrown out in the novel to describe the prominent features of English life in India.

⁴¹ "The Marquess of Hastings" (*Rulers of India Series*), page 194.

⁴² Trevelyan's "Macaulay," page 198.

At the same time caution is offered against labelling Anglo-Indians too confidently. "The nabob of books and tradition is a personage no longer to be found among us. He is neither as wealthy nor wicked as the jaundiced monster of romances and comedies, who purchases the estates of broken-down English gentlemen with rupess tortured out of bleeding rajas, who smokes a *hookah* in public, and in private carries about a guilty conscience, diamonds of untold value, and a diseased liver; who has a vulgar wife with a retinue of black servants whom she maltreats, and a gentle son and daughter with good impulses and an imperfect education, desirous to amend their own and their parents' lives, and thoroughly ashamed of the follies of the old people."⁴⁶

That the Englishman keeps open house in India to people of his race is indicated more than once. Commenting on the measured hospitality extended to him by his step-brothers on his return to England, the Colonel says: "Why, if he had come to me in India, with all his family he might have stayed for a year, and I should have been offended if he had gone elsewhere."⁴⁷ A peculiar feature of Anglo-Indian life has always been remarked in the quickness with which marriages take place in its circles. "It is known that there is no part of the world where ladies are more fascinating than in British India. Perhaps the warmth of the sun kindles flames in the hearts of both sexes, which would probably beat quite coolly in their native air; else why should Miss Brown be engaged ten days after her landing at Calcutta?"⁴⁸

The consumption of strong liquors in India is a subject of regret. The Colonel says in a London public-house: "I'm sorry to see you, gentlemen, drinking brandy-pawnee, it plays the deuce with our young men in India."⁴⁹ There

⁴⁶ *The Newcomes*, page 108.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, page 90.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, page 67.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, page 10.

is reference again to special items of Anglo-Indian diet. Referring to the B. B. C., Sir Barnes Newcome's opinion is quoted : "It was a quarrelsome company ; a company of gentlemen accustomed to gunpowder, and fed on mulligatawny."⁵⁰ Inveterate smoking seems to be also regarded as an Anglo-Indian peculiarity. The Colonel figures perpetually with his cheroots and the habit seems even to create trouble at the London hotel where he stays.⁵¹ That Anglo-Indians are early risers is mentioned more than once.⁵²

There are also scattered references to novel features of "Hindoo" life. References to *suttee* are frequent. The following sentence occurs in "Esmond" : "Our women, like the Malabar wives, are forced to go smiling and painted to sacrifice themselves with their husbands ; their relatives being the most eager to push them on to their duty, and, under their shouts and applauses, to smother and hush their cries of pain."⁵³ The description "Malabar wives" is an unlucky synecdoche here for Hindoo wives. *Suttee* was always peculiar to Northern India, and, what is more, the women of Malabar have always been reputed to be bound by less rigid ties of marriage than women elsewhere. Lord Bentinck made *suttee* a crime in 1829. Writing in 1824 Heber records that forty cases of *suttee* were reported in the previous year and that more should have actually taken place.⁵⁴ He says that the custom was common only in Bengal and Behar.⁵⁵ Writing in January of the same year (1824) he mentions having witnessed a funeral pyre on which a *suttee* had "just" taken place.⁵⁶

The Bayaderes of India are alluded to in the "Newcomes" : "I have read (besides that poem of Goethe

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, page 839, "mulligatawny" is from Tamil "Milagu" and "Tami," meaning "pepper water."

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, page 144.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pages 112, 854.

⁵³ "Esmond."

⁵⁴ Heber : "Indian" Journal, Vol. I.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., page 4.

⁵⁶ Vol. I.

of which you are so fond) in books of Indian travels of Bayaderes, dancing girls brought up by troops round about the temples, whose calling is to dance, and wear jewels, and look beautiful; I believe they are quite respected in—in Pagoda land. They perform before the priests in the pagodas; and the Brahmins and the Indian princes marry them.”⁵⁷ Thackeray was no doubt taking up a current notion which, however, Heber takes care to correct in his Journal: “I had heard that the Bayaderes were regarded with respect among the other classes of Hindoos, as servants of the gods, and that, after a few years’ service, they often married respectably. But though I made several inquiries, I cannot find that this is the case; their name is a common term of reproach among the women of the country, nor could any man of decent caste marry one of their number.”⁵⁸ If Thackeray had taken this valuable testimony, he would not have put into the mouth of Barnes Newcome the shocking jest: “You don’t know anything against my uncle, do you, Sir Thomas? Have I any Brahminical cousins?”⁵⁹ The frugal habits of the Hindoos are also alluded to more than once.⁶⁰

Another way in which Thackeray’s interest in India is expressed in the novels is his reference to books on India. Among the authors read by little Pendennis to his mother was Bishop Heber.⁶¹ Orme’s “History of Indostan” is the very fountain-source of Colonel Newcome’s enthusiasm for an Indian career. The Colonel’s mother who had in her life parted company with her son in indignation, had left a letter in the leaves of the very book of Orme’s, leaving him property. Mrs. Newcome, we are told, had also been actually reading Orme*

⁵⁷ The “Newcomes,” page 787

⁵⁸ Vol. II., page 180.

⁵⁹ “Newcomes,” page 85.

⁶⁰ Page 66.

⁶¹ Page 31.

on the night of her death.⁶² On his deathbed the Colonel speaks of Mill's book on India which, he has been informed, is "a very learned history."⁶³ Little Clive Newcome gets as a present Mrs. Sherwood's "Little Harry and his Bearer" relating to India.⁶⁴ Mrs. Sherwood was in India from 1803 to 1823. She was the author also of an Indian adaptation of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." Moore's "Lalla Rookh" is mentioned elsewhere in the "Newcomes." Ethel Newcome wants to know from the Colonel about lovers' lamps, which she has read of in "Lalla Rookh."⁶⁵ Thackeray seems to have known also of the "Panchatantra" in Sanskrit, for he writes in the introductory chapter to the same novel: "So the tales were told ages before Aesop; and asses under lion's manes roared in Hebrew; and sly foxes flattered in Etruscan; and wolves in sheep's clothing gnashed their teeth in Sanskrit, no doubt."⁶⁶ Thackeray's lecture on Sterne as a humourist of the 18th century makes reference to Mr. Daniel Draper, the chief of the factory at Surat,⁶⁷ between whose wife Eliza and Sterne a romantic passion grew up, and the lady was afterwards immortalised as the "Bramine" in Sterne's *Journal* to her.

We may speak here of many a casual reference to Indian topics to be found in Thackeray's writings. The fascination and abiding influence of India on Thackeray's mind are perhaps best seen in the casual references where he is not directly thinking of India. A metaphor or simile taken from India is part of Thackeray's language. There is no continuous piece of writing by him in which he will not allude to relations in India, the wealth of the nabobs, or the salaams in the east. "Ramaswami of Madras" is alluded to with the greatest ease in "The Book of Snobs."

⁶² The "Newcomes," page 988.

⁶³ Page 989.

⁶⁴ Page 39.

⁶⁵ Page 248.

⁶⁶ Page 5.

⁶⁷ "The English Humourists" (Everyman's Library), page 227.

Colonel Esmond says to Beatrix: "Were I the Mogul Emperor, you should have all that were dug out of Golconda." The Juggernaut car is so familiar as not to need even a capital letter. The horse which Colonel Newcome presents to his niece is named "Bhurtpore." By the name of Bhurtpore hangs one of the greatest events of British history in India. Bhurtpore was popularly considered impregnable, and it was after tremendous efforts, by laying a mine charged with a prodigious quantity of powder and blowing the ramparts into the air, that it was captured in 1827.

Thackeray has caught even the derivative meanings of Indian words in the English language. The ladies that tried in vain to set their caps on the widower Colonel Newcome in India use besides the English adjectives "selfish," "pompous," and "Quixotic," the word "Bahawder" to condemn the Colonel's alleged conceit.

In answer to an accusation that Thackeray was a hard-hearted cynic in the views of society expressed in his writings, it is usual to cite passages in his work which reveal intensely the delicate tenderness of his feelings. He has repeatedly spoken of love and human sympathy as being the greatest of all human possessions. In the lecture on "George IV" (referred to before) he alludes to Heber's discovery of the "chief affection" in which "Judge Cleveland who had died, aged twenty-nine, in 1784," was held in popular memory in India, though the names of Lord Wellesley and Warren Hastings were honoured as those of great rulers.⁶⁸ What impresses Thackeray chiefly in the British occupation of India is not the political magnitude of the fact but the intensely "human" and domestic aspects of it, as affecting British men and women. The following extract from the "Newcomes" may well conclude this essay on the India allusions in

⁶⁸ "The English Humourists and the Four Georges" (Everyman's Library), page 420.

Thackeray's writings : " What a strange pathos seems to me to accompany all our Indian story ! Besides that official history which fills Gazettes, and embroiders banners with names of victory ; which gives moralists and enemies cause to cry out at English rapine ; and enables patriots to boast of invincible British valour—besides the splendour and conquest, the wealth and glory, the crowned ambition, the conquered danger, the vast prize, and the blood freely shed in winning it—should not one remember the tears too ? Besides the lives of myriads of British men, conquering on a hundred fields, from Plassey to Meanec, and bathing them *cruore nostro* : think of the women, and the tribute which they perforce must pay to those victorious achievements. Scarce a soldier goes to yonder shores but leaves a home and grief in it behind him. The lords of the subject province find wives there : but their children cannot live on the soil. The parents bring their children to the shore, and part from them. The family must be broken up. Keep the flowers of your home beyond a certain time, and the sickening buds wither and die. In America it is from the breast of a poor slave that a child is taken : in India it is from the wife, and from under the palace, of a splendid pro-consul."

P. R. KRISHNASWAMI.

THE DRAVIDIAN ART OF SCULPTURE AND STONE CARVING.

BY G. R. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR.

PERHAPS no fine art received greater patronage at the hands of ancient Hindu kings and emperors than the art of stone carving. South India is almost the only country in the world which can boast of such fine specimens of sculpture and architecture of a religious character as to enrapture the soul of a spectator and excite his admiration ever after the lapse of centuries. The south of this peninsula, cut off from the north by the thick jungles of the Dandaka forest and the almost inaccessible heights of the Vyndhia range, was in ancient times in enjoyment of a degree of civilization, peculiar to itself in several respects, which has left indelible marks of a high order of art development, specially in music and in architecture. The magnificent temples of South India and their architectural and sculptural beauties find no parallel anywhere else in the world, and the extremely religious character of the people has clothed these edifices with an odour of sanctity and grandeur, capable of out-living the successive waves of foreign civilization blown on the undefended but hospitable shores of South India. Even ancient Greece and Italy, so famous for their fine arts, could but receive a faint appreciation from South Indian artists of old. In comparatively modern times neither the Saracen, with all the spirit of his militant civilization, nor the European with all his appeal to material and moral advantage, has been able to affect appreciably the character of Dravidian civilization, especially in the domain of the fine arts. The reason for this is not far to seek. South India has always

been the cradle of religion and philosophy, and the rich raw products of thoughts and ideals imported into it from the north and elsewhere, have been woven into nice textures of religious systems and sent back like a bale of raw cotton exported from Tuticorin or Bombay in modern times coming back into India from Manchester as pieces of excellent wear and texture. This was mainly due to the kings of South India, who made it their paramount duty to encourage religion and art even in preference to more important things which must engage a king's attention. Each dynasty has left examples of its peculiar style of sculpture and architecture, which, even after the lapse of several centuries, commands great admiration from foreign travellers. The monolithic remains at Mamallapuram, and the artistic structural works at Kanchipuram show the degree of civilization attained by the people of South India under the rule of the Pallava kings. The Cholas have immortalised themselves all over the country by their edifices of unrivalled beauty, and the temple of Raja Raja Chola at Tanjavur will ever stand as a testimony of the grandeur to which the country rose under the rule of the Cholas. The exquisite examples of fine carving in the Bellary district speak of Chalukya splendour and the stone works in the rich Siva temple at Madura ever remind one of the Pandyas and the excellence of their taste.

Dr. Rea, in his *South Indian Buddhist antiquities*, makes the following observations:—“To the Buddhists we owe the introduction not only of stone architecture into India, but of a class of sculpture that in parts partook of and rivalled the life-like representations of the Greeks. Sculpture was employed to an enormous extent in the embellishment of their temples; the most perfect examples seem to have been covered with it from base to summit. Floral carving occupied a subsidiary place; and is used as a setting to the sculptural panels, or to enrich

the details of architecture. Early South Indian Buddhist sculpture is of a severely quaint character, and is generally in Lasso, while the later works, with their spiritual life-like scenes, are in mezzo-relievo; the carved ornament of both periods is invariably in the former. The raised surface of the objects carved, is as flat as possible, with the edges only rounded off. This style of ornament, with its soft light and shade, does not detract from the solidity of any constructive object, to which it is applied. The favourite floral representations are taken from the leaves, flowers, and buds of the sacred lotus. The flower readily lends itself to an infinity of varied grouping in the hands of a skilful carver. This and the delicacy of treatment possible with the fine grained material used, have been fully taken advantage of. The design is occasionally strictly conventional; though, in some examples, a free natural treatment, or a combination of the two is adopted. Other flowers than the lotus are often employed; and the incorporation of floral designs with different animals, grotesque and otherwise, always exhibits a strikingly artistic design with faultless execution."

Towards the end of the Hindu period the Vijayanagar kings and their viceroys in different parts of the country were the greatest patrons of stone carving, and the finest specimens of this art are mostly found only in temples. The ancient monuments scattered through the length and the breadth of this land exemplify the excellence of the sculptors and the encouragement given them by their sovereigns. These sculptors were loaded with gifts of land and money, and, being above want, they were able to pay their undivided attention to the development of the art. At first the carvers formed an exclusive caste whose main duty it was to study the *Sastras*, practise the art themselves and jealously hand over their knowledge to their heirs and castemen.

At the present time we see a general decadence in the stone carver's art for want of encouragement and patronage. The attitude of the later kings of a degenerate age towards these men has contributed not a little to this decadence. Whenever a king came to know of the existence of a skilled workman in his domains he had him forcibly brought to his palace and made to work for him for several years with no other hope of remuneration than his bare maintenance all the while he was engaged in his task. Such barbarous treatment scared away many an expert and the few that remained languished for want of proper encouragement. In these days of hard struggle for existence attention is paid more to utility than to beauty of art. People stand in need of buildings, more substantial and less artistic, such as hospitals, railway stations, bridges, public offices and schools, and if art is cared for at all, it is more of a hybrid type than of the old Dravidian style. Economy is the watchword of the day and perhaps there is no spectator of an ancient Hindu monument but is first struck with the immensity of the labour wasted, as he might think, on the artistic production of such an insignificant thing as a doorpost or a panel. Even the trace of the art, left after the decay brought on by forced labour, would have been completely obliterated but for certain spasmodic attempts made here and there by a few renovators, yet interested in the perpetuation of an art which once commanded the admiration of all the civilized world.

The castes which are now engaged in the stone carving industry and allied arts trace their origin from *Visvakarma*, one of the subalterns of God Brahma, the creator. This *Visvakarma* is said to have had five sons, Manu, Maya, Silpa, *Tvashtara* and *Daivagna*. Those engaged in stone carving are the *Silpis*, the descendants of the third son. They claim to be regarded as Brahmans and do not invoke the aid of a Brahman in all their ceremonials.

In matters of diet and customs they closely follow the Brahmans and do not allow their widows to remarry. They also observe the thread investiture ceremony and are invariably Saivites in their religion. The trend of modern civilization, brought on by political and economic causes, has upset the exclusive privileges of this caste and the carving industry has now been shared with the traditional caste people by such men as Agambadiars, Ambalagars, Bojahs, Dombars, Epayars, Kavarais, Muhammadans, etc.

The classes of stone carving work generally executed in these days are images and panels cut out of stone, figures of the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, besides parrots, monkeys, elephants, horses, snakes, etc. There are still a few artificers scattered here and there who can turn out all the carved or sculptural ornaments necessary in temples. In addition to architectural carved work, some engage themselves in producing small images, utensils, paper weights, rulers, inkstands and toys. These are all made of granite, or black and white stone. Culinary utensils are also made of soapstone. These vessels are generally used for preserving pickles and last for years, if carefully handled.

The different kinds of granite or other stone used for sculptural and other purposes are the black hard granite now got from Pallavaram near Madras, grey soft granite from Sholingar and sandal stones. These stones readily admit of any kind of nice carving. Green soft granite from Kurnul and hard stones found in Mysore are also used for puposes of carving. In addition to these, marble and coloured stones are also used generally for making crosses in tombs. These kinds of stone which give a fine polish are now used for works within public buildings and churches.

The tools used in this industry are of various shapes and sizes so as to suit requirements. Pointed implements are used to work out finer details. The chisel, made of

well tempered steel, and of various dimensions, is the chief instrument used. Various implements of fine make are used for carving images and for making fine holes or for smoothening the rough surface to a fine polish. Short triangular edged tools are used for rough work and the longer ones are used for fine workmanship.

The method of working is of great interest. The worker is first given a drawing or a model to work from. Then he is given a block of stone of required dimensions, which is first cleared of its superfluous parts by means of steel implements of rough make. Then the stone is finely dressed. At the third stage the figure, intended to be carved, is drawn on the stone with a pencil or with a pointed bamboo stick dipped in a colour solution. At the fourth stage the figures are cut roughly with chisels and are then gradually worked up till the required proportion and form are obtained. Then the rough cut back is subject to clearing. Lastly the work of polishing and smoothening is gone through and at every stage the sculptural portion tends to become finer and finer.

The polishing of an image is an elaborate process involving skill and labour. Steel filings are ground into a fine powder under an iron pestle and mortar and the powder prepared is of varying delicacy. This powder is rubbed over the surface to be polished and smooth flat surfaces are effected by rubbing with stones made specially for the purpose. Then the masons make use of a fine powder prepared from a kind of stone mixed with sealing wax and rub it over the surface till a fine polish is obtained. Square leaden plates are finally used to render the surface smooth and glossy, till at last it becomes smooth enough to reflect anything set before it like a piece of looking glass. Some workmen are also known to make use of the juice of some herb to secure a polish of a very fine order.

Finally, it may be said without fear of contradiction that the ancient Greeks and the Dravidians were the only

two nations who developed the art of sculpture in ancient days to a high degree of excellence. Their respective mythologies served as inexhaustible sources from which the artists of old drew their subjects and so both the nations started their art on a religious basis. In course of time the Greeks had recourse to mundane subjects and arrived at a stage of rightly thinking that art is best when it best imitates nature. But the Hindu, whose inner soul had always been saturated with a touch of religion, thought it profane to use his skill in the embellishment of worldly objects. While now the Greek art has become a thing of the past, the Dravidian workman still has existence in a few isolated places from which he is summoned out, mostly by the rich bankers of Devakottah, who look upon the work of renovating old temples as an act of charity and of great religious merit. But for the patronage given these men by those people, the South Indian sculptors would have by this time taken to some other calling, more profitable but less alluring. So long as the development of the æsthetic sentiments of a nation serves as a criterion for judging of its greatness, it behoves the sons of this historic land to save this art from being destroyed by the ruthless hand of the modern matter-of-fact economist, whose aim in life does not soar higher than the dull routine of everyday life.

G. R. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE REIGN OF RELIGION IN CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY.—By S. Radhakrishnan, M.A., Professor of Philosophy in the University of Mysore (Macmillan and Co.).

The writer of this substantial volume is to be congratulated on having made a very real contribution to the history and exposition of philosophy. If other studies published under the auspices of Mysore University reach a similar high level, that institution will play an important part in the development of thought in India. The style reaches at times great clearness, vigour and beauty, though occasionally the author would do well to distinguish more definitely between the exposition of the view he is criticising and the beginning of the criticism itself. Confusion is apt to arise when one is repeatedly left uncertain whether or not the expositor has given over his functions to the critic. Still, when all is said and done, a book of such high literary quality, written by one for whom English is probably an acquired language, will undoubtedly excite the admiration of many for whom the language is a vernacular.

Mr. Radhakrishnan is a Hegelian, and his main thesis is that many of the recent developments of philosophy have been untrue to the spirit of philosophy. Philosophy demands truth at all costs, and the author's contention is that much recent thinking has allowed religious and utilitarian considerations to determine the ultimate conceptions adopted. He finds a dualism or contradiction in many modern writers between philosophical consistency and religio-practical considerations, and he pleads for intellectual open-mindedness and a willingness to follow whithersoever truth leads. More positively, his position is that pluralists of every type,

if they will but think more thoroughly and free their systems from contradictions, will find themselves back in the fold of absolute idealism. Their opposition to intellectualism has been overdone, and their antagonism to idealism in general has been due to their confusion between abstract and concrete idealism. It is the latter only which Mr. Radhakrishnan defends, and he carries through his main thesis with great ability and with only occasional lapses from consistency. His strength, however, is in criticism rather than in construction, and his final chapter, in which he puts forward certain suggestions for an interpretation of reality, while it is most beautifully and poetically written and admirable in itself, is the least satisfactory from the point of view of consistency with his own philosophical point of view and betrays him into statements dangerously similar to those he has criticised and rejected in earlier chapters.

The inconsistency is, however, very much to be welcomed, because it indicates that Mr. Radhakrishnan has in the end freed himself from two defects which mar his general treatment. One is that he starts with a somewhat narrow conception of religion, according to which it is predominantly dependent on authority and tradition. He forgets that this is not an essential characteristic of religion and that Christianity, at least in its most enlightened forms, is pre-eminently historical and experimental. Again Mr. Radhakrishnan suffers to a certain extent from an intellectualistic bias. Both these faults are corrected in his final chapter, and the value of the book as a whole is correspondingly enhanced. The religious attitude is admitted to be the consummation of human development, and the limitations of the intellect are also acknowledged. "This religious or intuitional experience is the summit of the whole evolution. It is the crowning round of human life."

In the course of his criticism Mr. Radhakrishnan passes in review the systems of Leibnitz, Ward, Bergson, James, Eucken, Bertrand Russell, Schiller and Balfour, and his treatment throughout is thoroughly sane and valuable.

The inclusion of Leibnitz in a book dealing with contemporary philosophy is justified on account of the increasing importance which is attached to monadological views and their similarity to modern pluralism. It is not possible to enter into the details of Mr. Radhakrishnan's exposition; which is of special excellence in regard to Ward, James and Bertrand Russell. The main point of view is preserved throughout, *viz.*, that if pluralism wishes to get rid of its defects it must have recourse to absolute idealism. The reiteration of this position is occasionally a little wearisome, but it is on the whole justified. Full justice is done to the pluralistic emphasis upon human values and the desire to preserve human freedom and individuality, but it is pointed out that the freedom which is secured is no better than that which absolute idealism offers. Again, God in pluralistic systems is absolved from the responsibility for evil only by the limitation of his power, and we are at one with Mr. Radhakrishnan in holding that the conception of a comrade God fighting along with us, such as we find in the philosophy of William James, is not an adequate security either for morality or religious belief. We are unable to follow him, however, in his contention that the God of theism must necessarily be a limited God. Our author disregards the distinction between mere limitation of power and self-limitation. He should have laid more emphasis upon the illustration of the creative artist which he borrows from R. L. Stevenson, and should have admitted that Divine responsibility for the world does not involve mechanical determination of its details or even exact foreknowledge of them. Moreover the "creation of creators" is a perfectly legitimate conception and at least lightens the problem of the responsibility of God for the evil of the world. Mr. Radhakrishnan thinks that the pluralists utterly fail to deal with the problem of evil and especially with the question of divine responsibility for it. But he himself does not supply a more satisfactory doctrine, or, if he seems to do so, it is at the cost of a confusion between error and sin and a reducing of evil

to a mere negation—a necessary phase in the development of the whole. Sin is a defect, a mere failure to rise, not a falling away. “Sin is putting trust in things that perish. Intellectually this act is error, and morally it is evil. Evil is the separation of the soul from the source of life. Evil is as necessary as any other element in the universe. Evil is a permanent factor in the universe, though it has no immortal life in the transcendent spirit”

We doubt whether in the first clause of the last quoted sentence Mr. Radhakrishnan has altogether escaped the dualism with which he so frequently charges the pluralists, whereas in the second clause he comes exceedingly near to the Christian position from which he explicitly detaches himself. His view of evil is decidedly a particular example of his general intellectualistic bias. This comes out most clearly in his otherwise excellent treatment of Eucken, whom he accuses of vitiating his philosophy in order to justify the Christian categories of grace and salvation. Mr. Radhakrishnan will have nothing to do with the conceptions of “conversion” or the “new birth.” “What is required,” he says, “is not a letting in of divine energy from outside, but only a development of the spiritual note he already possesses.” But surely there is no contradiction between human spiritual potentiality and divine assistance. The necessity of the latter does not deny the existence of the former. Christ himself was said to have given men “power to *become* the sons of God.” Men cannot *become* what is altogether beyond their capacity, but capacity does not carry with it absolute self-sufficiency.

One of the most valuable parts of Mr. Radhakrishnan's work is his criticism of Bergson's anti-intellectualism, and he follows admirably the same line in relation to pragmatism, pointing out that the test of truth cannot lie in its merely practical value—or in its satisfaction of merely human desires. But we wonder whether he has sufficiently realised that the distinction between the more rational pragmatist position and his own is after all a matter

of degree. Truth is a discovery of the central purpose of the Universe.. Untruth is that which will derationalise our world—fail to satisfy us. Truth is that which rationalises our world, satisfies us more completely. It is a question of whether we make our desires big enough, whether we attempt to adjust them to the universe or the universe to them. There is after all, not so great a difference between the position of Kant and Mr. Arthur Balfour as Mr. Radhakrishnan imagines.

The concluding chapter of the book before us is exceedingly valuable as an attempt to connect the philosophical position of the author with the teaching of the Upanishads. We have rarely seen a more fascinating exposition of the main doctrine of these ancient books, but we cannot help feeling that occasionally there is more of Hegel and of Mr. Radhakrishnan than of Upanishad doctrine in the views which are unfolded. We do not think it is quite so easy to exclude the doctrine of Maya as illusion from the teaching of the Upanishads as Mr. Radhakrishnan would have us believe, neither is it possible to escape altogether from the practical consequences of the ideas of negation and absorption in the Divine, which are firmly rooted in the Vedanta. "To be fused with the great purpose of God," is not the same, either in itself or its consequences as to reach identity with the Divine, but Mr. Radhakrishnan minimises the distinction between harmony and identity, and we should have liked to have had from his able pen and as the completion of this most illuminating book an exposition of the Vedanta philosophy based on a firm grasp of this distinction.

W. S. U.

INDIA AT THE DEATH OF AKBAR. AN ECONOMIC STUDY.—By W. H. Moreland (Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 12s.).

One naturally feels kindly disposed to a book which is the result of much reading and study. Such a book is

Reviews of Books

Mr. Moreland's. He has set himself to present a sketch of the economic life of India at the opening of the 17th Century,—a period which is important to us historically in that it was, in a sense, a period of transition. The difficulty which Mr. Moreland has had to face is the inadequacy of his materials for the work he wished to do, and that difficulty he has not been able to overcome. The result is that we do not have a complete, but rather a partial picture, of the economic life of the people of India. It is clear, for instance, that in the records of the time, whether of travellers or of other authorities presumably more intimate with the general life of the country, the Court and all that surrounded it had a very large place. It is, accordingly, not easy to reconstruct the picture of the life of the common people,—a life, of course, much less interesting to observe. Mr. Moreland recalls how the Italian Conti writes that the inhabitants of the country, "sleep upon silken mattresses in beds mounted with gold." It is obvious that he moved only in high circles. But with the materials at his disposal Mr. Moreland gives a careful account of the economic position of the lower classes. His conclusion is as follows (P. 279):—

"The great bulk of the population lived on the same economic plane as now: we cannot be sure whether they had a little more or a little less to eat, but they probably had fewer clothes, and they were certainly worse off in regard to household utensils and to some of the minor conveniences and gratifications of life, while they enjoyed practically nothing in the way of commercial services and advantages."

In the background was famine, with heavy mortality, enslavement of children, and cannibalism as its normal accompaniments. The poverty and misery of this life is illumined by the reckless splendour of the Court at Agra.

"India at the death of Akbar" is not always enlivening reading, but it is valuable historical economic study, and it may well stimulate Indian students of economics to tackle more resolutely the study of Indian economic history,

At many points Mr. Moreland seeks to draw comparisons between the period he has chosen and the present—a difficult and sometimes unnecessary task.

We are quite accustomed in India to the type of mind which seeks for all that is good in India's distant past. Mr. Moreland does not conform to this type, but, as he is an ex-civilian, it is interesting to find him inform us, with a sigh, that a commander of 5,000 under Akbar was more highly paid than any officer now employed in India, while a commander of 1,000 could count on receiving what would have been equivalent to three times the pay of a modern Lieutenant-Governor in 1914.

J. C. K.

CALL MR. FORTUNE.—By H. C. Bailey (Methuen's Colonial Library).

It is doubtful whether this small collection of detective stories will increase the reputation of the author. The solution of the problems depends largely on improbabilities. Every one, except Mr. Fortune, is a born fool or the slave of the obvious. Mr. Fortune himself, who has always to be called to solve the mysteries, ought to have been a doctor, but has become a detective. It is not explained why he was considered useful in detective cases, and the reason is not obvious. He is profoundly bored with life and with murder cases, becomes more strenuous in the banishment of final "g's" than in any other occupation, and soothes his nerves by driving his motor at break-neck speed—or by eating muffins. He is not attractive, but he may have been a good detective.

PERIODICALS.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—April 1920.

This number does not quite reach the usual level of interest. The articles upon the part played by Metternich towards the middle of the nineteenth century will make

rather dull reading except for the student of details of political history, and the subject of the Italian Settecento is also somewhat remote. Moreover, the contribution of Russia to learning is not of vital importance just at present ; we are more concerned with the contribution she is making—or rather failing to make—to the world's peace. Mr. Ellis Barker comes nearer to current questions in his discussion of the responsibility of Germany for the Armenian massacres. He makes out an indictment of almost criminal indifference on the part of Germany. It was not to her interest to break with Turkey, and so her protests against the massacres became a mere formality. Mrs. Creighton writes vigorously in support of a larger recognition of the services of women in the Church, and literary interests are represented by a scholarly article on Donne from the pen of Mr. John Bailey. Mr. Fleetwood Chedell's article on "Imperial Migration" opens up important questions. He pleads for greatly increased migration, especially to Australia. He sees quite clearly that no artificial restrictions can be placed upon the immigration into the latter continent of Asiatic peoples and that it is futile for the Australians to claim exclusive possession of a country they do not fully use. The only remedy is colonisation to a larger extent and an abandonment of the present dog-in-the-manger policy. An anonymous article discusses with great ability Mr. Keynes's famous book on "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," and on the whole upholds its arguments, carrying them even further in many respects in the direction of pessimism.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.—April 1920.

The first article in this issue—"The Atonement and Modern Thought" by Principal D. T. Davison, is an attempt to present the doctrine of the Atonement in a way which will appeal to the modern mind and yet preserve the essence of the doctrine as enshrined in the tradition of the Church.

Another theological article is contributed by Principal P. T. Forsyth, who continues from a previous number his discussion of the relation of the Incarnation to the doctrine of the Church. Mr. Anthony Clyne provides an interesting comparison between two famous Italians—Leonardo da Vinci and D'Annunzio. The greater measure of approval is given to the older artist and poet. Some of the by-paths of history are traversed by Mr. Basil M. Cleather in his account of "A Merchant Venturer in the Time of Queen Elizabeth," and he tells some delightful stories of the great Queen. She was prompt both in resentment and in action. A prelate, of strong Marian sympathies, was preaching the funeral sermon of her predecessor and in the course of his remarks he gave thanks for the accession of Queen Elizabeth on the ground that "a living dog is better than a dead lion". At the close of the service Elizabeth ordered his arrest, and the poor prelate did not offend again. In the two concluding articles Mr. St. Nihal Singh shows a moderate appreciation of the new Indian Reform Bill, and Mr. Telford is enthusiastic in his approval of the recently published life of General Booth.

A.C K N O W L E D G M E N T S .

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THE NEW GERMAN CONSTITUTION.

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WITH the general features of the German Revolution most people are already familiar. After the abdication of the Kaiser the government of Germany was undertaken by the Council of People's Commissioners. The existing Imperial Parliament was dissolved. The ruling dynasties either voluntarily abdicated, or were forcibly ejected. A National Assembly was summoned. Elected on a basis of universal suffrage for adults (over twenty years of age), this assembly was distinctly of a socialist character. The Majority Socialists alone obtained 163 seats, the next party, the Centre, obtaining only 88. The Assembly elected the first President of the German Republic, President Ebert, and drew up the new Constitution.

The Constitution is a very interesting document. Drafted as it was under the stress of social, political and economic difficulties, it is a remarkable collection of moral truisms, socialistic theories and sound practical constructive statesmanship. It is questionable if the Constitution as a whole will become the permanent fundamental law of Germany. Neither the medium of its creation, nor the mental outlook of its drafters was normal. A large

number of the articles are aimed at individual weaknesses in the old system of government, and these articles will soon lose their meaning. Others are too much out of accord with the old German spirit to be permanent, at least, in the letter. An example of this is the abolition of titles. A titleless German society it is difficult to conceive. The Constitution, too, was necessarily drawn up under the attentive eye of the Allies. In the original draft, for example, provision was made for the inclusion of Austria in Germany, but the proposed article was dropped because of pressure from the Allies.

One of the most outstanding features of the Constitution is its length. In this it is unique. Not only does it cover the whole field of government ; it also lays down the lines of future social and political policy. The primary aim of a constitution is to lay down the fundamental principles on which the government is to be conducted, with a brief outline of the form of government. The details of the organisation of government, and future policy as a rule are left to subsequent decision. But the German Constitution-makers obviously wanted to make sure of the future. Few departments of human activity are omitted from their survey. In fact one is forced to the conclusion that the constitution is not only an instrument of government, but also a social programme calculated to cheer a defeated people.

• For the emancipation of the German people from the previous absolutist system of the Empire, the National Assembly has followed historical precedent in putting its faith in constitutions. Just over a century ago it was a favourite amusement of French politicians to draft constitutions. The habit was by no means confined to France. It took deep root in America, and was followed by many other European states. With the experience of last century, the modern constitutional student is able better to gauge the value of constitutions as guarantees of liberty.

That they have a place in the general organisation of a free government is undoubted ; but that they themselves are the guarantees of freedom is as undoubtedly false. The general enunciation of the principles of liberty does not give liberty, nor does the organisation of a government by means of a constitution secure free government. Our modern phrase "constitutional government" is misleading. *Any* government is constitutional if it is conducted according to the law or spirit of the constitution. The absolutist governments of the Czar and Sultan were constitutional enough. The Government of India before the days even of the Minto-Morley Councils was quite constitutional. Constitutional government is not necessarily *free* government. Free government means that type of government in which the will of the people can prevail. But a constitution may be so drafted that the power is definitely restricted to a minority, or to a single individual. Yet such government is literally constitutional. We have become accustomed to associate constitution making with democracy. Yet Athens had a constitution, and, from the view point of modern democracy, it was a close oligarchy. In Athens, and the Greek so-called democracies, the government was democratic in relation to the citizens, but as the citizen class excluded the very class which is the body of modern democracy,—the workers—it was a close oligarchy in relation to the whole population.

We must not then be too ready to associate *constitution* and *freedom* in the indissoluble relation of cause and effect. The flexible and rigid reason for the usual view that a constitution means freedom is, of course, the fact that modern written constitutions as a rule were enunciated to secure civil freedom as against a previous type of autocracy, either monarchy or oligarchy. The French constitutions of the revolutionary period—the "liberty, equality and fraternity" constitutions—

were meant to prevent the absolutist system which reached its acme with Louis XIV, and was continued by Louis XV and Louis XVI. The most abiding of the constitutions of that period was the American constitution, which was also the result of a revolution. Borrowing the current ideas of freedom from France, particularly from Rousseau and Montesquieu, the Americans laid down in a fundamental document what were to be the principles, and what was to be the organisation of their own government. The principles were democratic; the organisation of government was the accepted democratic notion of the day—republican in form, with a clear-cut separation between the legislative, executive and judicial functions of government.

The American Constitution was at once placed on a separate footing from the ordinary law of the land. It could not be amended by the ordinary process of legislation. Amendment to such a sacred declaration of rights and formulation of government organisation was made so difficult that in spite of some crying needs of reform only eighteen amendments have been made to the constitution during the whole course of American history. The constitution, drafted by freemen for future freemen, has thus become an instrument of autocracy. The constitution is the absolute monarch of America. It seems to be a universal failing of minorities which protest against the power of majorities that they usually commit themselves to the very principle that makes them secede. So it is with religious sectaries. They leave churches because the rule of the church does not give them liberty of conscience. They forthwith proceed to try to impose the principle they fought against on others. Nowadays we hear a great deal about the rights of minorities. Their real indefeasible right in any ordered community is the right to persuade others, or to make their point of view so acceptable that they become majorities. But

how often do the minorities which so loudly voice the rights of minorities or the rights of man in general turn against these rights the moment they can seize power !

These reflections are pertinent to the present German Constitution. It is an excellent example of the truth that constitution making may be autocratic as well as democratic. The constitution is an attempt to bind down not only the future government but the whole course of German development according to the views carried in a National Assembly which was predominantly socialistic in character. It is an attempt by those who once were a large minority to compel the German nation as a whole, both present and future, to act according to their views. Its principles may be democratic, its social programme may be correct. But such procedure is the very negation of liberty. To bind the will of the nation by a document which, once passed, has the sanction of even more than statute law is the negation even of the state itself. The only justification for a constitution is that it represents the expressed will of the people. It should therefore be capable of adaptation to the changing views of a people. Such adaptation is possible only by a tacit agreement that if the constitutional provisions are unworkable, they may silently be dropped, or by a process of easy amendment. The new German Constitution does not err on the side of difficulty of amendment, though the process, implicating the use of the referendum is by no means too easy. Presumably (but there is no definiteness about this) the constitution will be interpreted by the courts in a way similar to the American practice ; with the subsequent necessities of extra legal fictions like the doctrine of implied powers. But that it is not always to be bandied about among the socialists of Germany is due to the good sense of the National Assembly. There was no lack of will on the part of some of the makers of the constitution to bind

the future governments and nation by its autocratic doctrines, for the Assembly had to veto a serious proposal that the legislature should have supervising powers over the Courts and the General Administration of Justice.

Like most similar assemblies after times of stress and strain, the German National Assembly, in placing too much faith in a written document, has far exceeded its real constitutional functions. Not only has it given far too much detail in the actual organisation of government, but it has exceeded moderation in its formulation of rights. To have a definite, clearly worded fundamental doctrine of rights is a modern fashion of democracy, but that it is of little avail as an actual guarantee of rights needs little demonstration. In the first place, vague statements of liberty are of little avail where the machinery to make the liberty real does not exist. The Belgian Constitution clearly enunciates the doctrine of the freedom of speech and the freedom of writing. In the English Constitution there is no definite statement. But in England there is the simple Rule of Law. You may meet as often as you like, and with whom you like, and you may say what you like, if you obey the law. You can say what you like with impunity, provided you do not endanger the public peace or come within the law of libel. The rule of law is simple and effective. It does not depend on any constitutional truism or moral platitude. It is a plain, effective right.

The German Constitution does not fail to recognise the lessons of the English Constitution in respect to certain definite rights. The general statements of its social programme are the chief weaknesses in this respect. The actual constitutional safeguards of individual rights are definite enough. Thus the freedom of the press is guaranteed not by an article saying that "The press shall be free," but by the prohibition of censorship, except for films or filthy writings, for the protection of the youth of the country. Personal liberty and the right of association

are granted subject to law. But there is no provision for many of its social doctrines, *e.g.*, the "moral duty" of each German to use his mental and physical capacity for the common well-being, and the "natural right" of parents to educate their children to be morally, physically and socially efficient.

In the second place, liberty depends on factors other than written truisms and platitudes, even though they may be dignified by the name "constitutional." In addition to definite constitutions, another modern "weapon" of liberty, particularly in America, has been the separation of the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government. This well-known theory demands as complete separation of these three powers as is humanly possible. It is a very significant fact that Great Britain, one of the two freest countries in the world, has neither a definite written constitution, nor separation of powers. In fact, the legislative, executive and judicial in Great Britain so far from being separate, are all mixed up together. The Cabinet is the head of the executive: it controls the course of legislation. The Lord Chancellor, the head of the legal system, is a member of the House of Lords and a Minister of the Crown. The House of Lords, the second chamber of the legislature, is also a court of law. The British people should, on the above theories, be the most tyrant-ridden in the world. In the other one of the two freest countries in the world, there is a very definite constitutional document (even though coated over with such doctrines as implied powers and immunity of instrumentalities), and a very definite separation of powers (though the modern American party system, with its autocratic methods is but an attempt to circumvent it). By a simple logical process we may conclude that the absence of the two factors in one, and the presence of the two factors in the other, means that they are not the causes of the common effect, which is liberty.

Freedom cannot be achieved by a constitution or by a mechanical arrangement of the public services. It depends on the mental composition of the people. It is as difficult to make free a people who have not the spirit of freedom as it would be to restrain a free people by autocratic forms of government. Liberty is not manufactured by a constitution-machine. A constitution is free because it reflects the mind of a free people. The theoretical doctrines of the revolutionary constitution of France did not prevent Napoleon succeeding to the absolutist throne of the Bourbons. In spite of the Maximalist and Bolshevist doctrines of liberty, equality and fraternity, the Tzarist absolutism of Russia has been replaced by the more terrible autocracy of the so-called proletariat. The new German Constitution is not extreme in its actual construction of government: it is in its political theory and social programme that it attempts to impose its view on the future Germany. But as the constitution does not indicate how its views are to be brought into effect, the theories of the constitution—if the constitution survive—will become either dead letter, or the standard authorities for quotation by extremist orators.

The political reconstruction of Germany is the most statesmanlike part of the whole constitution. In this subject the constitution makers were on fairly safe ground. The Bismarckian organisation of Germany was clear and definite. The evil results of his organisation were as clear. The reconstruction is based on the Bismarckian basis, but, provision is made to avoid its evils.

The monarchy is abolished, although the name (*Reich*) is continued. The word *Reich* or Empire is used in want of a better; unfortunately it smacks distinctively of empire and dynasty. The President is to be elected by the people; his tenure is to be seven years, the same as in France. The first President was elected by the National Assembly.

Very far reaching provisions are made in regard to the organisation of the old states. The old Empire was a federal union of privileged states. In welding the Empire together, it will be recalled that Bismarck had first to decide whether Austria or Prussia was to lead. As a Prussian, naturally, he decided on Prussia, Austria was decoyed into the disastrous six weeks' war and beaten. Prussia was left free to organise Germany, but owing to French pressure, Bismarck could organise only northern Germany. The French trouble was settled by the Franco-Prussian War, a war which not only removed the French danger but raised national feeling in Germany to such a pitch that the cunning Bismarck by a few bribes in the form of separate privileges, and a few threats, soon persuaded the large southern states to sacrifice their own sovereignty in order to make a united Germany. Germany became a federal Empire. Each state gave up its own sovereignty to the Empire, but it preserved its own ruling houses, legislatures and forms of local government. Locally, their *kudos* remained much the same as it was. Internationally they lost their previous status.

The new Constitution goes much further. It is very significant, for one thing, that the "states" lose the very name *state*: they are now called "provinces" or "territories" (*land*). But more important is the method by which these *lander* are to be fixed. Normally in a federal constitution the "states" are guaranteed constitutional integrity. In the new German Constitution the territories may be regrouped by an ordinary act of legislation. In theory the old "states" become little more than units of local government, like a county or district.

The new provision is by no means a casual opinion. Behind it is the essence of the old system—the supremacy of Prussia. In the old system Prussia, as has been said, ruled Germany with the help of the other states. The

king of Prussia was German Emperor ; normally the Imperial Chancellor was a Prussian ; the Prussian vote could prevent any change in the constitution, and, as a rule, control the whole course of legislation. The Executive, the Chancellor, was responsible not to the legislature, but to the Emperor. Thus the executive was also Prussian. The Prussian preponderance was natural enough. Prussia was by far the most populous and powerful of the German states. It had been welded out of many smaller states. The only possible condition of German unity was the supremacy of either Prussia or Austria, the Hohenzollern or Hapsburg. After the defeat of Austria, Prussia was left supreme. Such special privileges as Bavaria Wurtemberg and Saxony enjoyed, were mere sops thrown at the states by Bismarck. They gave them no real power as compared with Prussia. With the evil results of Prussianism we are all now painfully aware. It is interesting therefore to know how revolutionary Germany has treated this powerful state. The first stage we have already seen. The old states or "territories" may be regrouped by a simple act of legislation. But the constitution goes much further. It recognises the existence of the twelve Prussian provinces, which may foreshadow the complete dismemberment of Prussia. The membership of Prussia on the new Imperial Council is reduced, and of these members one half are to be nominated by the Prussian provinces. Thus has the centralised power of the old King of Prussia, who was also German Emperor, been shattered.

The legislative organs of the new German Republic are two—a Reichsrath and a Reichstag. The old name *Bundesrath* is abolished in favour of Reichsrath—a *Federal Council* is replaced by an *Imperial Council*. Not only the name, but its composition and powers, are materially altered. The ratio of members to population is one to a million, but every "territory" is guaranteed one member.

The members, as in the old Bundesrath, are to be nominated by their own governments. The Council is to be organised in Committees, on which each territory will have only one vote. This new Committee arrangement is another blow to Prussia, for under the old system she was able to control the Committees through the Chancellor, or her constitutional right to seats.

The old Bundesrath had enormous powers in legislation. All laws, and treaties which fell within the domain of legislation required its consent. The old popular house, or Reichstag, had the theoretical right of initiative in legislation. Actually the Bundesrath was both the beginning and the end of legislation. It prepared the laws, which, after being passed by the Reichstag, came back for sanction to the Bundesrath, finally receiving the signature of the Emperor. Now the Reichsrath loses its veto, if it rejects a measure passed by the Reichstag, and the Reichstag does not accept the rejection. If the Reichstag re-passes the law by a two-thirds vote, the President must set the Referendum in motion. If it re-passes its measure by a simple majority the President may order the referendum at his option. If he does not, then the opinion of the Reichsrath must prevail. Thus not only does the second chamber lose the power of the old Bundesrath, but simple constitutional machinery is set up to give the Reichsrath an important place in the organisation of government. Disputes may be settled by the will of the people, which most probably would be in favour of the Reichstag; but the machinery is sufficiently complicated to enable the Reichsrath fearlessly to perform its duties as a revising or delaying chamber. Amid the many socialistic dogmas of the new Constitution, this item, making the bicameral system a reality, is remarkable.

Still more vital is the position of the Chancellor under the new Constitution. In the old system the Chancellor was the hub of the whole system. He was responsible to

the Emperor alone. He not only was outside the effects of an adverse vote in the lower house, but, as the head of the all-powerful Prussian delegation (which he usually was) he could control the vote of the Bundesrath as he liked. The new Constitution introduces responsible government. The Chancellor and ministers, the Constitution definitely states, must have the confidence of the Reichstag. The Chancellor is given wide powers of deciding policy and nominating ministers, but as these powers must be exercised subject to the vote of the Reichstag, he will have to choose his ministers on the English Cabinet system. Thus has Germany passed from imperial absolutism and come into line with modern cabinet governments.

The President will occupy a position similar to that of the French President. He will not be part of the political machine. He will be head of the administration. All his acts require the countersignature of a minister: in other words, the President will sign the orders of the responsible minister. He is not re-eligible for office at the expiry of his tenure, and he is liable to dismissal, by means of recall on the initiative of the Reichstag. This recall is *initiated* by the Reichstag; it is made effective by a referendum. If the referendum fails, the Reichstag, not the President, is dismissed. On the initiative of the Diet, the President and ministers are liable to impeachment by a tribunal, not by the Reichstag itself or a political body.

The new Constitution thus guards against the various types of autocracy of the old Empire. The Reichsrath does not inherit the absolute powers of the Bundesrath; the Chancellor is made responsible to the legislature; the President must obey responsible ministers, or be subject to recall or impeachment. It may be noted that the separation of powers plays no part in the new Constitution. The American system of presidential government, in which the head of the executive separated completely

from the legislature, is definitely passed over in favour of cabinet government.

The lower house of the legislature, the Reichstag, is to be elected, for three years on universal suffrage, on the proportional basis. Men and women have equal rights in voting. Secret voting is guaranteed as a right. All are equally eligible for office. Class privileges are abolished. Titles are abolished, save for academic or professional purposes or as parts of names. No new nobility may be created. The constitution is at pains to guarantee the freedom and secrecy of elections for itself : it also secures them and also proportional representation for the territorial governments, and for local self-government.

As may be expected from the nature of the Constitution, the most modern and most extreme instruments of democracy—the initiative and referendum—are introduced. The referendum is to be used when the Reichsrath and Reichstag disagree. The duty of starting it is laid on the President. A referendum is valid only if over a half of all voters take part in the voting. This is a very stringent condition, as experience of the referendum shows that it is very difficult to get citizens to record their votes. To make it compulsory that over one-half of the voters must take part would seem to ensure that the cases actually referred to the people must appeal to the popular mind before the referendum is effective. If ten per cent. of the people, or, if the majority of the Reichstag also favours it, five per cent. demand it, a referendum may be held on any law except financial laws. A minimum of ten per cent. of the voters is necessary for presenting a draft bill. If such a draft bill is carried by the Reichstag without amendment, it automatically becomes law.

The Constitution gives immense powers to the central government as compared with the states. In this

they merely accentuate the tendency of the old constitution. Modern opinion definitely favours the new German type of federalism. The American type, which gives stated powers to the federal government, and the residue to the states, has proved much less satisfactory than the Canadian type, which gives stated powers to the provinces and the residue to the central government. The new German Constitution gives all the powers exercised by the old German Government to the new government, and many others, *e.g.*, mining, fisheries, motor traffic and poor relief. Thus the central government will be responsible for the whole domain of policy. It is to purchase main through lines and canals. In many other matters the central government is given the right to lay down the main lines of policy, the territorial governments making the necessary laws to fulfil the policy). In fact, the territorial governments are left considerable powers of "filling in" legislation in matters not reserved purely for the central government (foreign affairs, army, navy, tariffs, telegraphs and telephones, coinage, nationality, extradition and migration. In regard to the communalisation of industries, the central government is given a veto on laws passed by the territories; and, with the consent of the territories, the central government may appoint a commissioner to supervise the work of the territorial governments. Special machinery is created to determine the validity of the laws made by the territorial governments.

The actual system of administration, with the civil service, of the old *regime* is continued. Presumably the "new" German has no fears of the old bureaucracy when it is tempered by responsible government. The new civil service will be open to all: provision is made to abolish its "class" characteristics. Elaborate provision is made to regulate the rights of citizens as against officials, and also to guard officials in the execution of

their duty. The system of administrative law is continued, and organised on an imperial basis.

The acceptance of the system of administrative law by a socialist assembly is a remarkable admission. Administrative law is a contradiction of the separation of powers. It is altogether foreign to our English system. In the continent of Europe it has worked well, and surely no better refutation of the argument that it militates against freedom can be found than its adoption by the German Constituent Assembly. The German people have never had a quarrel with administrative law. Their civil service was both efficient and clean, and the administrative courts (which used to be organised according to the divisions of local government) had the confidence of both the people and of the bureaucracy. The same is largely true of France, though, as Professor Dicey holds, politics sometimes interfered with law in the judgments of the courts. In our English system we have steadfastly refused to make one law or one court, for the official and another for the private citizen. From the Prime Minister to the policeman and from the Duke to the labourer we are all subject to the same process of law. Our Rule of Law has been carried by us to the ends of the earth, but whether it is more efficient than the continental system is a very moot question. Its relative efficiency in India is more than doubtful. In India the bureaucratic nature of the government is not only more extensive than in the rest of the British dominions : it is more intensive. It covers a greater field of activity, and, owing to the nature of the people, it has more direct relations with individuals. To my mind the erection of administrative courts, even although it would contradict certain current notions of liberty, would not only add to the efficiency of government services, but it would protect the individual citizen against government officials. Nothing is more

detrimental to efficiency in administrative services than the lack of protection to public officers. Nothing can more greatly foster individual liberty than the searching enquiries which such courts conduct into administrative actions. If a citizen proceeds against an official in the open court, only conviction can secure redress. In administrative justice mistakes may be punished even though absolute conviction does not follow.

Analogous to the administrative courts a permanent Committee of the Reichstag is to be appointed to guard the rights of representatives against the government (the Chancellor and Minister). The Constitution thus makes a departure from accepted constitutional methods. It establishes permanent Committees for definite purposes, irrespective of the duration of life by the Lower House. A council organised for a similar purpose, but with no political bearing, is the contemplated joint imperial Economic Council. This council, the germ of whose existence seems to have been the old Prussian Economic Council, is the apex of an organisation in which employers' and employees' councils play the chief part. Its functions are to discuss economic questions, and it may compel the legislature to introduce bills recommended by it.

Of the several new features introduced by the new Constitution this seems the wisest. The chief weakness of democracy is the danger of mob legislation or the rule of ignorance. With the increasing complexity of modern life, legislation is more and more becoming a matter for experts. This is particularly true of economic questions. The people as a whole are apt to be misled by party catchwords or class prejudice. Few understand the real scientific issues at stake. In the old controversy in Britain on the tariff question—Free trade and protection—the underlying principles of international trade were neither expounded by politicians nor understood by the masses. Yet the votes of the

people were largely decided by the issues the great majority did not understand. Modern party organisation adds to the evil. Political partisans in times of peace think more of their own party than of the common welfare. They do not hesitate to break all the rules of logic or to bend the truth to suit their own purposes. Anything that can destroy party dishonesty would be welcome in modern democracy ; and the Germans seem to show us the way. Economic questions are to be discussed by economists—at least one trusts that such is the meaning of the new Economic Council. A body in the English scheme of government composed of leading business men, financiers and University Professors with representatives of Labour even in the present condition of England, would be more trusted by the people in technical matters than the non-descript mass of amateurs and cranks which so often finds its way to the House of Commons.

A similar tendency in England is observable in the appointment of Commissions. The German permanent committees are of this nature, only they do not, like Commissions, disperse when they have fulfilled their specific terms of reference. Commissions suffer in being completely non-Parliamentary. Their reports are at the mercy of the ministers, a fact which was shown in a most glaring way by the treatment meted out to the recent Slough Report. In the English system permanent Commissions could easily be appointed without in any way impugning the right of the people to change their representatives. The Privy Council, long since dormant as an executive body, might again be brought into action. It was recently reported that the present system of Colonial Government was to be reorganised on this basis, but the proposal seems to have borne no fruit. It will be recalled that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report recommends a standing Parliamentary Committee on

Indian Affairs. It would neither stretch the constitutional principles of England too far nor impair the usefulness of the Committee were it transformed into a permanent Committee of the Privy Council. It might then be possible to have enlightened control of Indian affairs in the Imperial Parliament.

In our reorganisation of the Government of India the same principles may be borne in mind. An Indian Privy Council has been suggested. It would make many a rough course smooth were Permanent Committees constituted for set purposes. The drawback of Standing Committees is that they are not *standing*. They are liable to fall with every election. Continuity of work is possible only for the members who command the continuous confidence of their constituencies. Executive ability and power to command votes are by no means synonymous. Some method therefore should be devised to secure continuity of experience as well as continuity of work.

The new Constitution continues the old judicial system. The organisation of the Courts, as well as the system of law in the main will be the same as in the Empire. The law, general principles of organisation, and procedure will be imperial, the actual Courts will be territorial. The modifications are mainly in the organisation of administrative courts. Constitutional limitations of course are laid down, *e.g.*, regarding the appointment of judges, and their independence—but these are the interpretation of the existing practice, not new articles in themselves. The Constitution makes special provision for the settlement of disputes between the territorial and central governments, and decides how certain issues are to be tried, *e.g.*, election disputes will be tried by special tribunals consisting of three members of the Reichstag and two independent judges.

As already mentioned, the Constitution gives a most exhaustive list of rights, which are to be exercised within

the law. Some of the rights are of the conventional type. The right of all Germans to be equal before the law, the right to liberty, the right to freedom of speech of the press and of association, the right to secrecy in communication, and the right to property are all given in detail, with implications, reservations and safeguards. Some of the rights are much less conventional, such as the right to emigrate and the right of sex equality. The contrast between the present Government and its predecessor is markedly shown by two rights not usually found in a list of popular rights, one the right for members of the Empire to use their own language, and enjoy their own customs and culture. This is a distinct contrast to the policy of Germanising Alsace-Lorraine and Poland. The other is the right of minorities of the same religious persuasion to ask for the establishment of denominational public schools.

To the lay reader, by far the most interesting part of the document is the thorough-going democracy of many of the articles. These articles are all more or less harmless, for the method of enforcing them is left to subsequent legislative and executive action. They are more or less pious opinions. The Constitution lays it down that eight years of school attendance is sufficient for the compulsory period, and that continuation classes should be continued till the eighteenth year of age. As our own education authorities have found out, it is one thing to state a principle and another thing to find the means to carry it out. Constitutions unfortunately do not coin money. Private preliminary schools, also, says the Constitution, must be abolished. Talent, not the possession of social position, is to be the pass word to higher education. This constitutional maxim is strengthened by a constitutional order that money shall be provided for this purpose. Private schools are not to be organised so as to produce class separation, and education is to respect differences of opinion

and promote international conciliation. One wonders how a High Court Judge would proceed in a case brought before him on the grounds that the teaching in the school was "unconstitutional."

Still more remarkable are some of the social doctrines. Thus it is now constitutional in Germany that a large family has a claim to compensation of some kind, that illegitimate children have the same opportunities for development as legitimate children. One fails to see the point of making constitutional maxims such self-evident truths as these—Labour is given the special protection of the state; it is the moral duty of every German to use his mental and physical powers for the common well-being; marriage, as the foundation of the family, is given the special protection of the Empire; the education of youth is the natural right of parents, whose efforts are supervised by the state; and that the right of property implies the duty of service.

The Constitution contains also a considerable number of socio-economic principles, such as the right to employment and on the principle of social insurance, unearned increment, the relations of labour and capital, and the right of the state to "nationalise," with compensation to private owners.

Thus the Constitution passes far beyond the domain of real constitutional law, and enters the realms of social, political and economic controversy. No judgment can yet be passed on the working of the section of the new Constitution which is really constitutional. That part is sensible and statesmanlike. Without departing too suddenly from the organisation of the Empire it has introduced what even before the war was the real political necessity of Germany—responsible government. Emperors, Kings or Grand Dukes may or may not return to their dominions. Whether they do so or not is not really a matter of supreme importance. What matters is that if

they do return they are not *the* government, but only a part, and very unimportant part of the government. Responsible government, once it is introduced, will not easily be given up. That part of the Constitution, at least, seems sure of permanence.

Most of the political and social dogmas will sooner or later lose their meaning. They have been set down as a result of the troubled times. It is to her responsible government that Germany must look for reconstruction, and the rest of the world for a prevention of the iniquitous system that has cost the world so terrible a price.

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A NATIONAL EFFORT TO RID INDIA OF LEPROSY.

BY W. H. P. ANDERSON.

IT is no mere commonplace to say that a new hope has arisen for the lepers of India. Like the four leprous men described in Holy Writ, the too often repellent sufferers in our towns and villages might well exclaim "It is a day of good tidings." The papers read at the Calcutta Leprosy Conference of this year not only reported a distinct advance in the treatment of leprosy, but indicated a desire to make the various Homes for Lepers more efficient and to bring them into conformity with the best known methods of caring for the inmates.

"Our perplexities and our problems are signs of life" were the words used recently by a speaker in a summary of the difficulties which men and women are facing who are seeking better things for the human race. It was with a keen satisfaction in the possession of a fresh pair of eyes that the writer of this article spent some months of this year in India after nearly five years of absence. One came back to India conscious that thought and outlook would be greatly different to what they were.

It was my privilege to compare notes with the past concerning the leper problem and to measure progress. Five years ago an article in the *Review* outlined a possible development in the segregation and care of lepers, which was put forward with a whole-hearted confidence in the plan but with something of hesitancy. Would public opinion appreciate its value? Would Government ever sanction such a scheme and provide the cost? Would certain obstacles to its fulfilment be removed? Very remarkable indeed has been the advance made in

each case. We shall not examine how advance has been brought about but rather welcome a new situation which is full of promise.

A work has been wrought in India very quietly, which has not been seen in its true proportion or appreciated as it might have been. The death of Father Damien in 1888 focussed attention on Molokai in the Hawaiian Islands, and the Leper Colony at that place became famous. Less than 150 miles from Calcutta a work as great as that at Molokai has been carried on for a long period of years in the Purulia Leper Colony, where there are nearly 800 lepers, a greater number than is segregated at Molokai. Purulia is only one of a number of large colonies in India. It is out of this system of voluntary segregation of lepers, carried on so effectively in these different leper colonies, that we look for the growth of the larger thing foreshadowed in the *Review* of 1915. The advance made is measured not merely in the numbers of lepers segregated but in the efficiency of the institutions themselves, worked at a minimum of expense. The cleanest and healthiest villages are the model leper villages, paradoxical though this may seem to be. The buildings are the results of years of planning. No unsightly *chawls* have been perpetrated. There are no overcrowded sites; abundance of pure water and fresh air are regarded as indispensable. The leper people themselves have been taught to take an interest and pride in their surroundings, and they have got pleasure and physical benefit from cultivation of vegetable gardens and the care of trees. Commencing with small groups, these little colonies have become villages which are centres of useful activity. Humanly speaking, where all that might be reasonably expected would be decay, misery and despair, we find new life, contentment, and hope. We thus see advance being worked out in a field of experience where it has been proved that success is possible.

Another factor which has come into the leper situation and made further advance possible is the result of medical research. The new treatment of leprosy which has had such a gratifying measure of success is known in every leper asylum. Hundreds of the lepers themselves desire to be treated. If even the distressing stages of the disease can be made less offensive to the leper and his sufferings thus far alleviated, it means much. Moreover, every treated leper represents an effort to make him less of a menace to his fellowmen. The special treatment of lepers has gone beyond that, and cases have been reported as symptom free. Without speaking of cures, and as yet there are none in the sense of absolute eradication of disease, great benefit has accrued to many men and women in the less advanced stages of leprosy. Some cases remain obstinate and no treatment helps. While grateful for what has been accomplished, there is still much in the scientific study and treatment of leprosy which is puzzling and defeats all attempts to add to our knowledge of possible curative treatment.

There is another element in the problem, and on the human side, for which we should be profoundly thankful. I refer to Indian men and women working among the lepers. Many of them are keenly interested in their work. They are men and women of education and standing in their communities and are for the most part Christians. In a recent campaign in America to raise large sums of money for Missionary purposes it was stated that the problem would not be to get money, but rather to get men to carry out the programme. If the type of men available for service among lepers was represented by the Indian delegates to the Conference of Superintendents of Leper Asylums, held in Calcutta this year, then we may indeed be confident of securing the personnel to carry out any forward movement against leprosy.

An appeal to cleanse India from leprosy has received a sympathetic response in all parts of this immense country. Those who have means, have been generous toward the needs of their less fortunate brother-men. It is manifestly a popular appeal and its constructive programme has arrested the attention of those best fitted to assist in bringing about its fulfilment. All that has been printed and spoken is marked by a right appreciation of public duty to the afflicted, which should always be characterised by sympathy.

A great thinker, and a friend of the friendless, finding a beggar blue with cold sitting at his gate, searched vainly for a coin to give to him and then exclaimed "Brother, I am sorry. I have nothing to give you." Returning later, he found the beggar still at the gate but with a look of subdued happiness on his face. On enquiry the great man learned that his greeting "Brother" had warmed the beggar's heart and acted as wine to his soul. It is in just this spirit we must approach the subject of the leper problem. He is a brother, mysteriously afflicted, oftentimes loathsomely so, but still a brother, and to that understanding of his need his soul will respond.

We must be wise in our consideration of the ideal, too often conceived in thoughts of self-protection, and lay more stress on the really practical thing. Segregation of all leprous persons would bring about ultimately the extinction of leprosy. Conceived and undertaken in any mere spirit of getting rid of an ugly menace, it is not suited to India, if anywhere, and will awaken distrust and fear. What we need is the co-operation of the afflicted, and it is, after all, not difficult to secure. The average leprous man is not hostile to those who wish to help him, if it is done in the right way. Government has wisely decided that kind and humane segregation of all pauper lepers is a duty of the State, and in this it has the support of informed public opinion. It is the first step to be taken in cleansing

India from leprosy. At the same time the education of the public concerning leprosy, its early symptoms, the danger of contact with lepers, means of protection and the need of segregation of all suffering from it, should be carried out and in large measure on such elementary lines that the people of the villages will be reached. Some years ago, the writer suggested to a Director of Public Instruction that one of the lessons in the School Readers should deal in a clear and simple way with the elementary facts about leprosy and prevention of contagion. Later on, and after consultation with one of India's leading bacteriologists, certain facts, simply expressed, were prepared for translation into the vernaculars. Circumstances arose which prevented putting these into use at the time, but the time is now ripe for it. It has been by popular education on the subject of tuberculosis that such marked advance has been made in Western countries in the fight against that disease.

Provision should be made whereby persons in the earlier stages of leprosy could receive the latest treatment at all public dispensaries, and this should be made known as widely as possible. It is a question if our fight against leprosy will not be made less effective if we neglect the use of the public dispensary. Some objection might be made on the score of lepers mixing with other out-patients but this would not be as serious as it might appear. It is very necessary that some arrangement should be made for the private examination of persons who may be conscious of suspicious symptoms. Many persons are afraid to make their fears known who, if they could be examined privately, might be helped and the progress of the disease retarded if not arrested, without exposing them to the risk of losing their employment or being otherwise prevented from following their usual occupation.

It may seem fanciful in our search for the cause of much of the prevalency of leprosy to examine economic

conditions or to see any connection between the remuneration of labour and the leper beggar in our streets. Yet, leprosy is a disease of the poor, though not confined to such, and its prevalence among people of low standards of living is in inverse ratio to their earnings. We must therefore remove poverty if we would bring about diminution of leprosy. I am not referring to the poverty of indolence but to the poverty imposed on men by conditions which can be remedied. Satisfy the hunger and cover the nakedness of great numbers of India's people, improve on their wretched housing, and nature will assist us in the first real step of importance to bring about a cleansed India in so far as leprosy makes it unclean. Let us get at the heart of the problem. The *foci* of leprosy are found in the villages and among the poor. We must not be merely seeking to confine the fire within limits, we must put it out. Hence, if we simply wait until the leprous villager has become a loathsome beggar in one of our large centres of population we are not approaching the problem as we should.

It is not sufficient merely to create public opinion, unless public action follows. The action most desirable is local effort. The small asylum needs encouragement and local committees can do much to provide small homes for lepers and to secure funds for their maintenance. A large colony of lepers requires expert supervision, certainly experienced men of the right type for its management, with a sufficient staff of helpers. The supervision of the smaller home is more easily arranged and frequently a gentleman acting as an Honorary Secretary to a Local Committee can give a fair amount of his personal time to the general oversight of the work with good results. This is not in any sense an argument for the small asylum in preference to the larger one, and certainly a large number of small leper homes is not put forward as a substitute for the proposed large Leper Settlements. All are

needed. We are seeking rather to ascertain how we can multiply our efforts to segregate lepers everywhere.

As a result of the definite interest in the leper problem which has been shown during the past year or two the long desired amendment of the Lepers Act is about to be passed into law. It remains now for the Local Government and all concerned to take full advantage of it. It will be more than a disappointing thing if there should be slacking off in the good work commenced of transferring to the people of India responsibility for her lepers. Private enterprise, excellent as it is, cannot accomplish the task, though we need not only every existing leper home but more of such homes. India must work out its own salvation with regard to leprosy. The lead given, especially in the work of The Mission to Lepers, has been such as no other country has had, though Korea, with a much shorter period of organised work by the same Mission in that country, has seen already a wonderful development in the care and segregation of its lepers. Korea is nearer to becoming a "cleansed" country than India. Numerically, of course, and in respect of territory the comparison weakens. So far the work done in Korea has been without Government or public aid. India has immense resources of private charity which, coupled with State effort, should and could make a "cleansed" India not a fanciful thing but a real accomplishment within the next two generations, perhaps earlier; that depends on the manner in which India appreciates and faces the task.

Reference to the Philippines has not been made—though it is the outstanding example of what can be done in stamping out leprosy—because in those Islands the work done has been an act of the State. India is not prepared to adopt measures for complete segregation of all lepers. It has been the intention, therefore, to make such suggestions and comparisons as are really helpful.

W. H. P. ANDERSON.

THE PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST IN INDIA.

BY J. C. KYDD.

JUST as the importance of industry in India at the present day cannot fairly be gauged by a mere knowledge of statistics, so it would be wrong to disregard the significance of recent labour movements in this country by pointing out how small relatively is the industrially employed population. Strikes have become a distressingly prominent feature of the industrial situation within recent years, and although their number has been increased by some circumstances not directly affecting labour, they may be taken as marking a definite stage in the development of the industrial community. Except for inadequate references in the newspapers the public is not informed sufficiently regarding these disputes, but a statement issued by the Government of India in April of this year throws significant light on a period. The statement has reference to labour strikes "which have recently taken place in India." The period thus vaguely defined covers only a few months. Altogether 86 strikes are mentioned. Of these 28 involved in each case more than 1,000 workers, and a total of 286,027 workers. In most of these cases the strike resulted in an increase of wages or allowances or in the payment of a bonus. Demands have also been made for improved conditions of work,—for example in respect of shorter hours of employment. No doubt reports of the decisions of the International Labour Conference at Washington stimulated such demands, and these decisions themselves, so far as they affect India, are likely soon to result in legislative sanction being given to considerable amendments of the present Factory Act. But no Factory Act

can solve the problem of labour disputes, and it is, of course, absurd to attribute the difficulties of the present situation, as has been seriously done, to the fact that the present Factory Act was not "popularly" passed. Equally futile is it to write as the Editor of a contemporary magazine did recently:—"The draft Conventions of the Washington Conference amount to no more than a widening and liberalising of the Indian Factories Act. Surely Washington could safely have left it to employers to ameliorate conditions under which workers toil and live."

This is just what cannot be done. Obligation rests upon employers that every employee shall be ensured the fullest possibilities of life. But where the steps for the amelioration of the conditions of the life and work of operatives can be definitely determined, an obligation rests also upon the community and upon the government as its agent to guarantee by positive legislation that such steps shall be taken. The employer's opportunity will always stretch far beyond the best devised Factory Act, however, and the possibilities for the development of useful welfare work in India make one realise this.

But apart from this it must be recognised that industrial disputes are inevitable concomitants of the development of industry. They may often be unfairly stirred up; they may often have for their purpose, on the one side or the other, something unattainable; they may if they result in an attempt to reach settlement by force, by the strike or the lock-out, involve great suffering and hardship, and may even involve, as in the case of widespread sympathetic striking, something like a breach of faith with the community at large,—but they cannot be regarded altogether as preventible diseases. They are in many ways the signs of healthy life. Whether the greatness of the problem would be overcome by a reconstruction of industry is another question which cannot be discussed here. This is certainly the position of many in the United Kingdom. In a

Memorandum on the causes of and the remedies for Labour unrest from the point of view of the Trade Union representatives on the Joint Committee appointed by the Industrial Conference of February, 1919, published as an appendix to the report of the Committee, it is stated :—

“The fundamental causes of Labour unrest are to be found rather in the growing determination of labour to challenge the whole existing structure of capitalist industry, than in any of the more special and smaller grievances which come to the surface at any particular time. . . . The mass of the working class is now firmly convinced that production for private profit is not an equitable basis on which to build and that a vast extension of public ownership and democratic control of industry is urgently necessary.”

But on this large question we cannot further enter. With regard to the Indian situation definite proposals have been made for the establishment of machinery for dealing with industrial disputes as they arise or are likely to arise. The Government of India in a letter, No. I-802-2 of 21st April, 1920, circularised Chambers of Commerce and other bodies concerned regarding the advisability of legislating on the lines of the “Industrial Courts Act, 1919.” This brings up the whole question of the policy of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes. It is perfectly clear that before conciliation or arbitration machinery could be worked at all, apart from the question whether it is likely to prove successful even in such a case, labour organisation in this country must be developed and so far as possible labour must produce its own leaders whom it can trust. At present many from outside the ranks of labour act as leaders in disputes, and it is often difficult to determine how far the action of such leaders is inspired by their zeal for the real interests of labour and how far the motive is to be found in perhaps some ulterior political

object aimed at, or merely in the personal advancement through publicity of the leader himself.

But we may look more closely at the question of conciliation and arbitration. Briefly the distinction between these two methods is that in the former case a dispute is disposed of by the mutual arrangement of the employers and employees concerned, while in the latter a dispute is referred, presumably by the agreement of the parties to the difference, to an outside arbiter or board of arbitration specially convened.

In 1896 the British Parliament passed the Conciliation Act, and this was the only Act under which, prior to the measures adopted during the war, a Government Department could take action for the settlement of industrial disputes. Under this Act voluntary conciliation and arbitration were provided, but no compulsory powers were given to the Board of Trade. Only on the application of both parties to the difference could the Board of Trade appoint an arbiter. Considerable use has been made of the methods of conciliation. The following record is given of the last complete year before the war:—"In 1913, 195 Boards and Joint Committees took action within the knowledge of the Board of Trade, and together they dealt with 4,070 cases of dispute. Of these they succeeded in settling 2,283 cases, 291 cases were settled by umpires whom the Boards or Joint Committees appointed and in only 31 instances did any stoppage of work occur."

Conciliation has distinct advantages over arbitration in so far as any result arrived at by mutual agreement of the parties concerned is likely to be more acceptable than the award of any arbiter or body of arbitration from outside.

In further pursuance of the policy of the Act of 1896 the Board of Trade issued the following statement in October, 1911:—"His Majesty's Government have recently had under consideration the best means of strengthening and improving the existing official machinery for

settling and for shortening industrial disputes by which the general public are adversely affected. With this end in view, consultations have recently taken place between the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Trade, and a number of representative employers and workmen specially conversant with the principal staple industries of the country and with the various methods adopted in these industries for the preservation of peaceful relations between employers and employed.

Following on these consultations, and after consideration of the whole question, the President of the Board of Trade, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, has established an Industrial Council representative of employers and workmen. The Council has been established for the purpose of considering and of inquiring into matters referred to them affecting trade disputes; and especially of taking suitable action in regard to any dispute referred to them affecting the principal trades of the country, or likely to cause disagreements involving the ancillary trades, or which the parties before or after the breaking out of a dispute are themselves unable to settle.

The Council will not have any compulsory powers."

The services of this Council have never been greatly utilised.

Arbitration was provided for by the Act of 1896, but it was always used less than conciliation, largely because of the difficulty of finding an arbiter whose impartiality is beyond dispute. During the war the State intervened in a much more definite way than ever before, to prevent or settle disputes. In February 1915, the government appointed a Committee of Production to inquire into and report on the best steps to be taken "to ensure that the productive power of employees in engineering and

shipbuilding establishments working for government purposes, should be made fully available so as to meet the needs of the nation in the present emergency." This Committee was absorbed by the Ministry of Munitions when it was organised and it became an arbitration tribunal for the settlement of industrial disputes. The first Munitions of War Act was passed in July 1915, and it definitely introduced compulsory arbitration at the option of the Board of Trade, together with the legal prohibition of strikes and lock-outs in certain circumstances. The scope of this Act and of its arbitration machinery was extended by the Acts of 1916 and 1917. In 1916 the Board of Labour was established and, as regards arbitration, it took over the functions of the Board of Trade. The last Act in this war series was the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act of 1918, passed shortly after the signing of the Armistice. This Act, in addition to providing for the stabilising of wages during the period of transition from war to peace production, repealed the sections of the Munitions of War Acts prohibiting strikes and lock-outs and enforcing compulsory arbitration.

During the war the cases dealt with by arbitration in relation to wages and working conditions were very numerous. But compulsory arbitration has few supporters. A Committee of the British Association reporting in 1916 stated—"The problem of compulsory arbitration has been much discussed in this country and on the whole both labour and capital are strongly opposed to it. . . . The stress of war and a patriotic desire to serve the national cause, has disposed both employers and workers to accept the arbitrary ruling of the State in matters affecting their interests. But such a disposition may disappear when national need no longer calls for an obvious and active self-sacrifice." Such being the position and such the result, a further step has been taken,—the passing of the

Industrial Courts Act of 1919. This Act has three main provisions :—

1. In place of the Interim Court of Arbitration under the Act of 1918 a permanent Court of Arbitration, to be known as the Industrial Court, is to be set up. To this recourse can be had by parties to industrial disputes if both parties to the dispute consent.
2. The Minister of Labour is empowered in cases of disputes, apprehended or existing, to appoint a Court of Enquiry, one of the objects of which is to put before the public an impartial account of the merits of the dispute.
3. The Principle of the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Acts of 1918 and 1919 that, broadly speaking, wages ruling at the time of the Armistice should remain in force is continued till September, 1920.

After careful consideration of this Act, referred to them by Government, the Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce came to the definite conclusion that legislation in accordance with its provisions would serve no good purpose in India.

“ Neither employers nor workers are yet sufficiently organised to justify the experiment, unless the Government are prepared to make arbitration compulsory, awards binding, and strikes illegal.”

None the less the Committee do not favour compulsory arbitration. They quite recognise that its record in other countries is not sufficiently satisfactory. They look for better results from the development of methods of conciliation and from the organisation of bodies representative of employers and employed along the lines of the Councils and Committees appointed in accordance with the recommendations of what are known as the Whitley Reports. At the same time the peculiarities of

the Indian situation require attention. Adequate conciliation machinery requires to be founded on well organised bodies, whether of employers or of employed, and such do not yet exist in India, though signs of development in this direction are not wanting. Again capital and labour in India stand in a different relation with regard to bargaining from capital and labour in the United Kingdom. As the Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce point out :—

“ The main object of the English Industrial Courts Act was to maintain the higher standard of wages brought about by war conditions ; and the arbitration clauses in the Act were intended to be a safeguard against employers reducing rates. In India the conditions are exactly the opposite. There is no prospect of reducing wages. The tendency is, and must be, all the other way, if labour is to be attracted to industry. For there is no large body of Indian workers entirely dependent on industries for a livelihood. It has always been open for such workers to revert to agriculture, and in actual practice the great majority of Indian factory workers do so revert. In the highly developed industrial conditions of the United Kingdom capital holds the key to the situation ; and labour, with the ever-present dread of unemployment before it, is constantly endeavouring to safeguard itself against a reduction in wages, or an eventual lock-out. In India with its rapidly developing industries, the increasing competition of capital for labour places the latter in a strong position ; and if the ordinary economic laws of supply and demand are left uncontrolled, there is every likelihood of industrial labour in India being able to raise its standard of life and in improving its condition to assist in the development of industry.”

The Industrial Court is something to which development must work up. It is a stage to be reached through more limited and perhaps local methods which, of course,

if finally successful, do not require to be superseded. Conciliation is good so far as it goes and better than arbitration, which introduces special difficulties. Where matters of fact have to be determined arbitration can be applied. But if in a dispute a question of principle is involved—as, say, that noticed above regarding the very basis of industrial organisation,—arbitration can achieve little or nothing. But in this connection more attention might be directed to the second part of the Industrial Courts Act. The Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce maintain that “India is not yet ripe for Courts of Enquiry, which are constituted in the United Kingdom mainly for the purposes of ascertaining and publishing the facts, and influencing the parties to settle their differences in accordance with public opinion as expressed in the press, and in the street.”

The need for information in the United Kingdom has been strongly urged, as by the Whitley Committee, who maintain that in the case of disputes involving questions of general public interest there should be a means by which the public can be supplied with an impartial account of the merits of the dispute. This need is not less great in India; one would say that, from one point of view, it is greater, since the general ignorance of the conditions of industrial life leads to much misrepresentation of the point and purpose of particular disputes. And here as much as elsewhere the community at large is a third party to every dispute. Whether ordinarily we trouble to assert it or not industry exists primarily for the satisfaction of the material needs of the community. Behind any individual interest in industry, behind all the individual interest, is this great public interest. While therefore, individual interests must be justly served they must be served in such a way as to promote to the fullest the public interest of the community. But the workings of the industrial machine are so complicated that the public requires instruction and

enlightening. To this end the work of Courts of Enquiry could do much. Publicity solves no problems ; but it can do much in the way of clearing the issues. For the rest industry in India may now most profitably seek to set up, as far as the defective organisation of labour makes it possible, conciliation machinery not only for particular works but also for whole industries where, as in the case of textile manufactures, they are sufficiently localised.

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EDUCATIONAL REFORM. THE QUESTION OF MATRICULATION.

BY "OUTSIDER."

IT is said that in Chicago there are factories in which live animals go in at one end of the machine and sausages come out of the other. The interests of the public which eats the sausages are safeguarded, so long as the proper kind of animal is put into the machine ; but if any other animal is substituted, and the label on the sausage tin is unchanged, the public is defrauded. The story furnishes a simple illustration of the truth that the outturn of a machine depends on the material put into it : a machine may do its work well or ill, but it will not do conjuring tricks. It will not transform bad material into good. These things are an allegory and are not without application in the educational world. An educational system is a species of machinery and the quality of its products depends on the material put into it. Certainly a great deal depends also on the excellence or otherwise of the machinery : and a bad educational machine is one of the greatest curses to a country. But the best machine in the world will not produce good results unless good material is put into it. Also, it must not be forgotten that a great deal depends on the mechanic who operates the machine. A bad workman, we know, quarrels with his tools ; and that is because he blames his instrument for what is his own fault, and he is very liable to spoil a good machine from ignorance and carelessness in using it. A great deal therefore, depends on the choice of a mechanic. In short, the principle of selection of the educational material and of the educational operative is all-important. It is a

principle on which Plato, the prince of educational theorists, laid the greatest stress, and the principle of sifting the material is the basis of all sound educational practice. But it is one to which the Sadler Educational Commissioners paid far too little attention. One is almost inclined to think that they deliberately shirked it. They seem to have always preferred diplomacy to frontal attacks. Therefore, instead of frankly denouncing what was wrong they side-tracked the issue : in homely language, they dodged it. But great is truth and will prevail, and, luckily for those who desire to know the truth, Dr. Gregory let the cat out of the bag in his note of dissent.

Proverbial wisdom tells us that a good beginning is half the race. Accordingly, everything depends on the exercise of selection at the commencement of the process of University education, that is to say, at the Matriculation stage. If the sifting process is carelessly done, if crowds of incompetents are admitted into the University machine, the wheels of the machine are certain to get clogged, and the graduate turned out at the other end of the educational factory is likely to be a very uncertain quantity. This is so obvious as to need no demonstration, but if any one is in doubt, he will find an overwhelming mass of evidence in the Calcutta Commission Report, in which the writers are never tired of harping on the fact that the University is swamped with large masses of students who are unfit for collegiate education. The facts admit of no doubt ; and it is used by the Commissioners in support of their pivotal proposal to substitute an Intermediate examination for the Matriculation as the test of admission to the University, and to transform the latter into a High School examination to mark the penultimate stage of the school career. Now if wishes were horses, beggars would ride ; if the general level of school education in 800 schools, largely uncontrolled, can be made to rise rapidly and appreciably, if the staff of teachers can become quickly

better qualified and better paid, if the new intermediate colleges can be speedily brought into being and efficiency, if it is advisable to treat young men as boys, if a new spirit can diffuse over Bengal education and public opinion, if the new Intermediate Board can satisfactorily control the numerous high schools and efficiently conduct examination tasks which Dr. Gregory says that it cannot do,—and if a good many other conditions are satisfied, no doubt we may look forward to a new educational Utopia in Bengal, where everything is executed as in Gonzalo's commonwealth in the *Tempest*, "by contraries" to the present state of things, and we would gladly garland the Commissioners and even agree to their being fed at the public expense for the rest of their natural lives. But unfortunately it is not all plain sailing. Besides, history has a habit of repeating itself, especially in a land where bad customs die hard. Consequently, there is always a possibility of an old foe springing up with a new face, and who can tell whether the same defects which have spoiled the Matriculation as a test of admission may not reappear perhaps in more insidious forms, in the new High School and Intermediate examinations. At any rate, forewarned is forearmed, and it is well to be quite clear about what is wrong with the Matriculation examination. And what we want is not merely a rhetorical description, but a clear and definite decision on the vital issue.

The essential question about the Calcutta Matriculation examination is *whether a proper standard has been maintained or not?* For the maintenance of such a standard is the means by which the fit are sifted from the unfit and the former are admitted and the latter excluded from the benefits and the privileges of University education. There was a plain question awaiting a plain answer from the Commission. But we regret to say, the Commission failed, nay refused, to reply. And yet it was their duty to do so, as they themselves confess. "*We were*

empowered," they say, "*in our reference to enquire into the general standards of examination of the University.* To investigate these standards would have required the appointment of a series of expert bodies to deal with the various subjects involved; and in view of our recommendations for a change in the whole teaching and examining system of the University, we think a detailed investigation of such a kind would be wasteful at the present moment; while we have provided by means of the Examination Boards for a 'continuous audit' of the University Examinations in future, to be supplemented by the periodic visitation of the Visitor." (XL, para. 13.) Now this is simply shirking or dodging an issue, which they had ample means for deciding in a perfectly definite way. But, they had a sort of constitutional dislike for taking hold of the red-hot end of the poker, which is surely the precise business of a commission. And not only so but they have dealt with their material in such a way as to conceal or confuse the issue.

We have said that they had in their possession ample means for answering "yes" or "no" to the plain question, without appointing expert bodies or making wasteful detailed investigations. They have devoted a whole chapter (Vol. I, IX) running to 48 pages on the "University Matriculation Examination; Its requirements, standard and influence upon the schools" in which they marshal the evidence received, and another whole chapter (II, XVII) running to 86 pages on the examination system as a whole. One would have thought that the prolonged investigations implied by these two long chapters would have enabled even the most cautious and painstaking of enquirers to form a decisive opinion at the last. And the Commissioners come near to it at the end of chapter XVII where they say: "It is impossible to peruse the evidence on the examination system as it exists in Bengal to-day without a feeling of profound sadness.

The immensity of the effort, disproportionate to the results; the painful anxiety of the candidates; the mechanical award of marks encouraging the least fruitful efforts of the mind ; *a leniency sometimes neglecting the grave responsibility of the University to the public and tending to class the less with the more deserving students* ; the number of failures in spite of that leniency. . . . These evils can only be eradicated by resolute and determined reform, accompanied by a change in the whole spirit in which the University institutions of Bengal shall be administered." (Para. 184.) The italicised words show that they recognised culpable leniency in the conduct of examinations. But the recognition of leniency is different from deciding whether standards have been maintained or not. To settle that question it is necessary to find out *whether the standard of examination has become more lenient than it was before*. Only so is it possible to form an opinion of the manner in which the Calcutta University has discharged its stewardship to the public. The Commissioners, however, were so intent on their educational revolution, and thereby starting a new educational paradise that they thought it not worth while to go into the comparative merits at different periods of the system they had made up their minds to abolish. "Let bygones be bygones," they seem to have argued. "Let us waste no time over the past ; let us press forward to the future." This attitude of mind evidently hardened them against answering the question ; it even blinded their eyes. For they say in chapter XL, para. 14 : "We have shown in chapters IX and XVII that the standard for Matriculation is undoubtedly too low, especially in English and Mathematics. The lowness of this standard admits to the University a large number of students who cannot reach a proper standard at the intermediate stage, and such admission affects at once the quality and the methods of the work done. . . . *While it has been stated that the standard has been lowered in recent years, we have received no conclusive*

proof in support of, or in opposition to, that statement. But it is clear from the tables given in chapter XVII that the requirements of the Calcutta University for a first division at Matriculation and for a first class at the Intermediate examination must be markedly different from those of other Indian Universities. We should be sorry nevertheless, to see any hard and fast rule made applicable to all universities alike in such a matter. We can imagine that a standard for a first class might be made unreasonably high in certain cases as well as unreasonably low in others, and we regard the matter as one for conference between the different universities. If our proposals are accepted the periodic visitations which we propose will, no doubt, direct public attention from time to time such discrepancies of practice between the various universities."

As a sample of the gentle act of hedging and of platitudinous subterfuge it would be difficult to beat this astonishing passage. The words we have italicised show that they have walked up to the fence. But they will not come down on either side : they prefer to sit on the top.

When they say they have received "no conclusive proof of a lowering of the standard in recent years," we cannot help being somewhat surprised. At any rate Dr. Gregory thought he had got conclusive proof, and he is a scientific man and an F.R.S. and therefore accustomed to weigh evidence. His conclusions which are contained in his brief note of dissent without unnecessary verbiage, are accordingly entitled to respect. It seems strange that his colleagues either took no trouble to collect the necessary evidence, or else shut their eyes to it when Dr. Gregory produced it.

Some light is thrown on their methods, if we examine the tables in chapter XVII to which they refer in the passage quoted above, and also by a comparison of the table given in chapter IX, para. 4 with the statistics given by Dr. Gregory. The first table gives the number of candidates,

of passes, or successful candidates in classes I, II and III, and the percentage of passes who obtained a first class in the Calcutta, Allahabad, and Punjab Universities for the years 1914-18. The first thing that strikes the reader is the enormous difference between the percentage of first classes in the three universities. In 1918 in the Allahabad University it was only 0·4 or 3 out of 849 passes. In the Punjab it was 11·3 or 400 out of 3,545 passes, but in Calcutta it was 58·4 per cent. or 4,995 in the first class out of 8,550 passes. These figures clearly indicate a glaring difference of standard and the fact that the percentage of first classes in Calcutta rose from 43·7 in 1914 to 58·4 in 1918, suggests that the examiners have been more lenient in the latter than they were in the former year. They afford, at least, *prima facie* ground for investigating the matter. But for some unexplained reason the Commissioners' curiosity was not aroused ; and they soon flagged in their research. They stopped arbitrarily at 1912, for in chapter IX, para. 4 they give the figures for the Matriculation for only 1912-18, thereby committing a *suggestio falsi*, for the figures of those years show that there has been no increase of leniency ; on the contrary, they suggest the reverse, for the percentage of passes in 1912 was 64·1 and in 1918 was only 58·7. The unsuspecting reader would have no ground for believing that there had been "any increase of leniency in recent years." Of course it all depends on what is meant by "recent." The Commissioners chose to fix the backward limit at 1912. Why they do so must be left to conjecture, but it is clear that if Dr. Gregory could find the evidence, in the years prior to 1912, there seems to be no valid reason why his colleagues could not have done so. The fact that when the evidence was found, it was not eagerly welcomed and included in the body of the report suggests that the Commissioners have been guilty of a *suppressio veri*. Anyhow, Dr. Gregory brought to light evidence of the highest value.

He extended his purview to 1904 and found that the percentage of passes in all the examinations up to the B.A. standard had greatly increased during the last 14 years. His figures show that the percentage of passes in the Matriculation in the years 1904-06 was 37·8, 41·6 and 26·3, respectively, while for 1915-17 it was 60·1, 58 and 70·1. This is a sufficiently startling increase and the Professor argues that "The examination statistics clearly indicate either that the examinations have become more lenient, or that during the past decade there has been a great improvement in the teaching, both in schools and colleges." The second alternative, however, cannot be true ; for, if the Act of 1904 had led to improved teaching, it would have done so in other universities, which were also affected by it. But this is not the case, for the percentage of passes in 1917 in Bombay and Allahabad was 34·7 and 27, respectively, and the quinquennial average was only 38·9 and 32·9.

Further, the failure up to date of the committee appointed by the Calcutta University Senate so long ago as 1915 to report on the increase in the proportion of passes indicated "that the complaints have been found to require serious consideration." There was in fact "a widespread opinion" that "the standard of the Matriculation had become *substantially lower in recent years.*" Dr. Gregory with the caution of a man of science remarks "to demonstrate this conclusion by examination statistics may be difficult, but they show that this belief is not surprising." (Vol. V, p. 400.) But what really puts the finishing touch to the argument is the well-known fact, quoted by Dr. Gregory, that students who fail to get a third class in the United Provinces could get a first class in the Calcutta Matriculation by stepping over the border, and the Calcutta Matriculant may be and often is one or two years behind the Allahabad Matriculant. What then is the conclusion of the whole matter? Not as the

Commissioners argue, that the root of the mischief in Bengal is the admission of schoolboys at the "tender age" of 16, who are therefore unfit for collegiate work because their period of schooling has been curtailed, but the "*substantial lowering of the Matriculation standard in recent years.*" This cause is not due to any defect in the machinery, but to the operators of the machinery, and that it is a preventible, and not an inevitable cause is shown by the fact that it was not working 14 years ago. The truth is that the Matriculation has not functioned properly as the preliminary sifting process, and has consequently swamped the University with *quantity* instead of *quality*, with swarms of students, who, as the Commissioners show, are quite unfit for higher education. Now this *sacrifice of quality to quantity* need not be confined to the Matriculation stage. The figures quoted by Dr. Gregory show that in fact it has occurred also in the Intermediate and the B.A. examinations. It is not enough to prolong the school course, or even increase the efficiency of the school teaching; that is waste of time and money, unless the material to be taught is first carefully sifted and the unfit excluded from and, still better, discouraged from aspiring to higher education. It is as wasteful as cutting blocks with razors. The errors of the Calcutta University in this matter are two-fold. In the first place they can maintain the standard of the High School in their power of recognition, and this power is absolute. The Commissioners say "on paper the power of the University to exact a high standard of excellence in every Secondary School within its jurisdiction is *complete.*" (Chap. X, para. 9.) But they have not used it, for "the powers of the University are far from being as efficacious in practice as they appear on paper." Thus, *they have allowed intellectual rubbish to advance to the Matriculation stage.* In the second place, they can protect the University by their control of the Matriculation examination. They have not used their

power. *They have allowed the intellectual rubbish to pass the barrier.* Hence, the condition of things which suggested the appointment of a Commissioner.

These things are an example and a warning. Whatever the precise machinery adopted for the Calcutta University, at whatever stage in a student's career the admission test is applied, it is absolutely necessary in the interests of efficiency that there shall be a guarantee that the test shall be faithfully applied. For the welfare of a University as a place of intellectual education depends absolutely on the selection of the right material. This is a principle which is more honoured in the breach than in the observance over the whole range of Indian education. Unless it is going to be recognised, it is farcical to talk of reform.

“OUTSIDER”

EDUCATION IN INDIA.

BY S. SUBRAHMANYAM.

“**T**HE first necessity of India is a spiritual awakening to the truth that a boy's education is as the preliminary drill of the soldier before he goes on to the field of battle. Private Jones cannot ward off the attack of Zubberdust Khan, the Afghan, by the explanation that some years ago he secured a first class certificate in drill and musketry. And Private Jones' employer, the State, cannot accept his barrack-yard accomplishments as final and absolute proof that he is a good soldier.” Nor is Private Jones himself individually immune from the deadly attacks of the sturdy Afghan. Laurels won while under training avail a man but little in his actual life.

What a man can do, actually does, and is likely to do in his employment cannot for ever remain an unconsidered question. What he has done in the examinations of his boyhood must cease to constitute the only criterion of merit; it must no longer be looked upon as a prize-packet that a boy can snatch once and for all by a few years' early labour, and draw therefrom a sleepy subsistence for the rest of his days. If Private Jones decides for one moment to subsist on laurels won in his early years and brandishes those honours in the face of the enemy instead of his weapons, woe unto him, and to his employer, the State, no less!

Before we proceed further it would be well if we pause for a moment and see what the preliminary drill of education imparted to our youths to-day is and does for those that are sent out of colleges and schools year after year. The question what purpose this equipment of their boyhood can serve in their later

years of life can be answered easily when the nature of the education of their boyhood is well understood.

Confining our attention, then, solely to India, we may with advantage start with Elementary Education and see what it is to-day and what it might be under more favourable auspices.

As it is, the system of education that now prevails in India must plead guilty to the charge levelled thereat by men like Mr. Shonger, "we find by experience that when a youngster is sent to school for Elementary Education, he is no longer of any use to his parents and is something of a clog to them." No wonder, then, that *compulsion* is needed in very many instances to force parents to send their children to schools. The poor parents are not to blame. What else can we expect of them? Their children are useful to them in a thousand ways even from their third or fourth year in looking after their own occupations: the poor labourer in the fields cannot easily afford to deprive himself of the assistance which his children, young and old, can, and do render him either in driving away the hungry crow from the ripe corn in the fields or in looking after the corn left to dry in the hot sun, to mention but a few instances among many. With all this, the poor over-worked labourer does not get enough to keep himself and his family above want and hunger. Even this he must be prepared to forego if he seeks to have the luxury of sending his children to a *free* elementary school.

Is it wrong then, on the part of the poor parent if he seeks to know what good does the boy do to himself or to any one else when sent to school so early in his life? He realises almost instinctively that "Education in India is at present a thing too separate from the people's daily life: it is a coat not a skin: not touching the life of the people, it becomes a mechanical affair."¹

¹ The Chapter on Education: "The Government of India," J. Ramsay MacDonald.

If so, would it not be better if the poor villager were allowed to utilize the valuable services of his children, young and old, in the pursuit of the means of livelihood, and to enable them also, by doing so, to do the same in years to come rather than compelled to send his children to schools where they are taught, more than anything else, to despise, and throw out their culture is valueless, to acquire a habit of mental Eurasianism that belongs to no civilisation, no country, and no history, to acquire a craving, that cannot be satisfied, and ideals that, being unreal, falsify life, and to be deprived for all time to come of the nourishment of their cultural past, the substitutes that take the place of such nourishment being uniformly unsubstantial."

The key to this miserable state of affairs in the world of Education to-day in India is not far to seek. Only, it requires a glance at the rather forgotten pages of the history of Education in this unlucky country. The great education giver in India is the giver of everything else, "the Government." The danger of utilitarianism has for generations beset Indian Education, and the policy of the Government increased it. There is something like an Indian tradition that the ruler provides for the scholar, and when the Company, first, and the Government, afterwards, educated men for public service in one or other of many departments of Indian Government, they encouraged the College youth to look to Government service as his future career. This, as well as the rushing tide of revolt from the Indian tradition, determined the issues of the contest between Orientalists and Anglicists in Macaulay's day. Obviously this expectation could be fulfilled only whilst the colleges turned out year by year a comparatively small number of men.² But when the number exceeds the Government's powers of absorption, the Bar and other learned professions either give no field for

ambitious men or have to be pursued under conditions for which the students have been unfitted, it becomes clear that "Indian Education, even from a utilitarian point of view has been pursued without reference to the life of the country, and that the road through the College leads too into the wilderness."³

It does not require any serious thinking to discover that educational evolution in this country is based on the fundamental assumption, namely, "that India can be saved only by the destruction of Indian culture and that, though the French, German and American systems are not English because France, Germany and America are not England, India alone is England."

There was, of course, a genuine difficulty which the educationists of Macaulay's time had to face. On the one hand was the genuine desire for mass education: on the other, the zeal for spreading western culture amongst those who could come into touch with it, and who, with their eyes opened, by real learning would realise according to the missionaries of the time that conversion to Christianity was the only means of salvation.

At first the authorities meant to build upon the village schools: inquiries were ordered upon them, but del took place. There were wars to fight, and settlements to effect, and meantime the primary school was left to decay, except by missionaries who used it for propaganda purposes, and whose views of a universal religion unconsciously aided the politics of a universal culture. The humble vernacular village schools with their poorly paid and imperfectly equipped teachers were neglected. To develop and transform them was to be a slow process and everybody was in a great hurry. And the Government, more than any one else! The Governor-General in Council decided that in future Government funds should be spent, according to Macaulay's decision, in teaching Indians

³ *Ibid.*

a knowledge of English Literature and Science through the medium of the English language; and the Education Committee was asked to set about its new task, namely, a system of really national education which should in time embrace every village in the country. This educational system has produced in India indeed men; it has created a class; it has destroyed certain evils, but it has not raised and enlightened India; it has utterly failed to make a foundation for itself and to co-ordinate and proportion its grades.

Thus it is we find Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald saying, "We have been seeking to transfer western civilisation into the Indian mind gutted of its Indian traditions. We have tried to transplant Oxford and Eton into India. We have imposed a school discipline and a school psychology which are English, and then have wondered at our failure we aimed at destroying Indian culture

"Language enshrines thought. It is an instrument evolved, moulded, and fashioned by the mind that uses When used by a culture other than that which fashioned it, it makes thought superficial and artificial. It twists it and cramps it. Because this is true, Indian College education has become largely a matter of memory, a veneer upon a different substance."

Viewed at from whichever point we may choose, we find this College education looming largely on the horizon: because the Indians in haste to be educated thought only of Colleges. It was the College they wanted. They saw a paradise whose gates were shut against them; they knew of the keys that were used by the western races for opening the gates; they demanded the keys. And behold, strait has been the gate and narrow has been the ways; many have missed both; and few there have been who have entered in thereat.

It must be said however, to the credit of the Educational authorities of Macaulay's day, that the College

policy was sincerely begun with the intention of leavening the lump from above with a totally new leaven. It has, in spite of the best intentions of the authors, failed to reach its higher purposes, as it was bound to fail. It has not got down to the elementary school. Those who introduced the new university system were constrained "to plan out a machinery, but had not the opportunity to think out whether it would organically blend with the life, spiritual and secular, of the people for whose benefit it was intended." So much so that it can be said with perfect good reason to-day that the university education is, as it were, "a foreign plant belonging to a type which flourished on a foreign soil," whose importation into India, however, "was an urgent necessity of the time suddenly created by the abrupt introduction of new conditions of life with a new order of political situation."

The three main grades of education, primary, secondary (including technical) and university are not merely one coherent whole, but each grade has its own separate justification and completion contained within itself. In India, however where the College dominates everything and where College badges and certificates are the only educational prizes sought for and are looked upon, as I have stated already, as prize-packets that boys can snatch once and for all by a few years' early labour, and draw therefrom a sleepy subsistence for the rest of their years, the truth can never be grasped that during education a man must find absorbing pleasure amongst the treasures in the midst of which he wanders for the time being, and not be a long-distance runner whose eyes see only the far-away prize and applause, and who knows no lingering place short of that goal. In other words as I have said in another context, and yet seek to restate it here and now, in spite of the fact that such a statement would evoke a storm of abuse

from my countrymen, the aim of higher university education is to a large extent, if not wholly, that of mere bread winning.⁵

The educational system in India, is at present "an inverted pyramid resting on its college apex"; and, so long as it is so, the true aim and true methods of education proper must remain a sealed book to the Indian and even if known, must remain unattainable."

One word, however, remains to be said about secondary education in India before we close; and that is about the craze for specialisation evinced in the earliest days of the life of a schoolboy of to-day. This besetting sin of early specialisation is not the peculiar evil of our Madras University or only of the Universities in India. In the course of his lectures delivered on the "Ideals of Education" at Manchester College, Oxford, Professor Foster Watson is reported to have stated, among other things, that the 19th century, engaged in the development of specialist, has saturated education with *specialism*: education in various directions has thus tended to fall into the hands of *specialism* and the greatest need to-day is *its emancipation*. He also quotes Berkeley to prove that the ideal of higher (mark the word "higher" used of Oxford) education has been too much the absorption in a narrow centre of interest and a colossal ignorance of all outside of it, which has led to a separatism of sympathy and interest in the common life and thought of the world: and which may alter all, make for a *thriving earthworm* but will indubitably *make of man a sorry patriot and a sorrier statesman*.

What Professor Watson said the other day at Oxford, John Davison had stated long ago. "To think that the way to prepare a person for excelling in any one pursuit is to fetter his early studies and cramp the first development

⁵ Madras Educational Review, April, 1918.

⁶ Ramsay MacDonald's Book,

of his mind is a notion to be exploded rather than to be received. For the acquisition of professional and practical ability such maxims are death. The main ingredients of that ability are requisite knowledge and cultivated faculties. A man of well-improved faculties has the command of another's knowledge. A man without them has not command of his own."

Neither Professor Watson nor John Davison has in the least bit exaggerated the evils of specialisation. Neither however, on the other hand, has taken into account the incalculable solicitude with which the Senators of the University of Madras seek to confer the title of Specialists on men who *specialise* more surely *in finding out what they need not know* than in anything else, and who find it next to impossible to get a passing minimum of marks in an examination without repeated attacks at the portals of the university. They are declared specialists here, for example, who, in the Intermediate Examination cannot get the minimum of thirty-five per cent. in the first attempt because of the English papers which they have to prepare for along with their so-called special subjects, and who, therefore, have to be enabled to do so by being relieved of that part of the examination in which they obtain the required minimum of marks; please note that nothing more than this thirty-five per cent. is required of a boy in that part in which he is sought to be relieved of all further anxiety to know more.

No wonder then, that we find the Calcutta University Commission saying that *the High School training which fails to fit most of the boys for the university fails also in fitting them for anything else*. They have been very charitable; and have spared the Elementary and the university education.

I fail to see how these two can escape their charge. It is as true of these two grades of education as of the other. Be it remembered, however, that I am not unaware

of the fact that the education system in India, as has been stated above, has produced men, that it has created a class, and that it has destroyed certain evils: but I regret that it has not raised or enlightened India; nor has it succeeded in any way in making a foundation for itself or in co-ordinating and proportioning its several grades.

May I be permitted to close this rather cursory survey of the evils of the educational system in India with the hope that was expressed in the editorial article of the issue of the *Madras Times* of the 15th of February last to which this article in a way owes its origin: "We are not despondent about the looming transference of the subject to the control of Indian Ministers" ?

Whoever may be the controlling authority, it must be clearly borne in mind that a university must not be considered a golden gateway to office so much as a temple where men go for refreshment and guidance and equipment for living; a university must have a tradition, it must be a communé whose sovereignty is accepted by its students through life; and finally, a university is a place not where men are examined but where they are educated!

A comprehensive reform of secondary education on the other hand must strengthen the university and add to vigour and practical capacity available for every kind of public and private service in India.

Secondary education must provide for a course of instruction in which the training of the hand and the study of science have an important place without detriment to the training given through language, literature and history.

Not only industry and commerce but the professions would be best served by schools that have a broader outlook and give a more varied preparation for life. *The schools should harmoniously combine training for livelihood with training for life.* Above all, knowledge must cease

to be pursued solely because knowledge brings success in life, often, success in the vulgar sense.

"The industrial and commercial interests of India will be best served by a generation of young men trained to vigorous initiative, equipped with liberal culture, scientific in temper of mind, generous in social purpose and freed from shame-facedness about working with their hands. A new kind of education is needed to fit young India for the new kinds of work which it is in the interests of themselves and of their country that they should be better prepared to undertake. And the way to what is wise and far-seeing in the planning of primary education for India (the most inspiring and the most perilous of tasks) lies through such changes in the life of the university and of the high schools as will deepen the sense of fellow service and will train judgment to social ends."⁷

One word more, and I shall have done. The educational equipment that is being imparted to our children in schools and colleges, being of the nature detailed above, and giving them, therefore, neither the required training for livelihood in these days of high prices and the abnormally low purchasing value of money, nor the training for life, with which, at any rate, they can have enough of refreshment which would enable them to ignore or forget all other ills of their otherwise miserable lives it is no wonder that our boys feel that there is nothing in the education that they had in their earlier years to tempt them to regard it as a prize-packet that they can snatch once and for all by a few years' early labour, and draw therefrom a sleepy subsistence for the rest of their days. When, however, the reforms detailed above are carried out and the educational system of my country becomes Indian, because we are Indians and our country is India, and the country we live in and the

⁷ Chap. XXX, Vol. IV, Part II, Calcutta University Commission Report.

education we get herein, the two inseparable companions do keep in intimate touch with each other and never even for once part company, then I make bold to assure my readers that the Indian boys will cease to value knowledge because it brings them success in the vulgar sense, and serves in their hands as a golden gateway to office, but will resort to the universities and education in general because they get therefrom refreshment and guidance and equipment for life no less.

S. SUBRAHMANYAM.

THE STORIES OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

BY P. R. KRISHNASWAMI.

EVER since the award of the Nobel Prize to Rabindranath Tagore mysticism has more and more been regarded as the highest quality of poetic creation. Books and pamphlets offering clear analyses of what mysticism is, have been published only within recent years, Evelyn Underhill's being one of the best expositions of the subject. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, it may be interesting to note, takes occasion to offer an explanation in his essay on the "Seventeenth Century Poet" in the volume of *Studies in Literature*. The Professor has a delightful talk on the music of the spheres and other such matters, and convicts Shakespeare on the one hand, and Dr. Johnson on the other, of having been incapable of comprehending the mystic note in poetry. Speaking historically, the seventeenth century writers, whether in poetry or in prose, are permeated with mysticism. *The Retreat of Vaughan* is in the direct line of ancestry to Wordsworth's *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*. And Earle, the writer of "Characters," describing the child, knows its immortal origin, and alludes to it as least led away from its consciousness of immortality.

Charming in his own way, Professor Quiller-Couch is perhaps out of his depth in giving an exposition of mysticism. This is betrayed in his mutually contradicting views. He says in one place that "the function of all true art, and in particular of poetry (with which we are concerned) is to harmonise the soul of man with the immense Universe surrounding him, in which he divines

a procession which is orderly, an order which is harmonious, which obey, as law, a will infinitely above him, infinitesimally careful of *him*—the many million-millionth part of a speck of dust, yet *sentient*." But at the end of his account of the Seventeenth Century Poets he confesses: "So from symposia of these mystics, rapturous but jejune, as from the vegetarian feast of Eugenists and of other men made perfect, I return to knock in at the old tavern with the cosy red blinds, where I may meet Don Quixote, Sancho Panza, Douglas and Percy, Mr. Pickwick and Sam Weller, Romeo and three Musketeers—above all, Falstaff, with Mistress Quickly to serve me." The readers of the professor's own droll stories will not be surprised at this choice. In the interests of literary criticism it is desirable to push the analysis further than has been attempted by the professor. Will mystics be contented to be told that what they write is jejune?

The contrast implied by the Professor indicates unmistakably the want of humour in the writings of mystics. The matter of the comic ranges over a wide field. It may be coloured by the moral sense and be satirical, or it may be merely of the realms of nonsense which Professor Saintsbury points out is a bright part of Shakespeare's work. The mystic whose supreme gift is the clearness with which he can unravel to himself the mystery of existence, cannot obviously be attracted to the realms of nonsense where nothing deeper awaits to be known. But humour of the former kind should be within the scope of the mystic. Rabindranath Tagore's short stories which are organically related to the mystic outbursts of the *Gitanjali* and the *Gardener*, are not rarely enlivened with humour of the satirical kind. The laughter is not long sustained, it is transformed quickly to what is solemn and grim. The picture of the extravagant habits of the impoverished "Babus of Nayanjore" is enjoyable in its piquancy, but when a young man plays a practical joke on the

vanity of the last descendant of them, the comic possibilities are entirely exhausted and the sight of the victim's little grand-daughter draws him to tears. When Purnendu Sekhar plies his oars to win honours at the hands of the Government, the narrative is very amusing, but when he is transported to a world where earthly honours are naught, there is grim jest.

Like other mystics, perhaps, Tagore has a catholic appreciation of life, and no mystic will be willing to be parcelled apart to a corner of "Mysticism" away from the animating pulsations of life, nor would it be just to do so. Indeed, when the present writer tried to differentiate between the mystic and the poet of ordinary life before Dr. Tagore, the latter hardly admitted the distinction, and pooh-poohed the term "mystic poet."

Though Tagore has made his mark as a mystic and as the author of the songs of the *Gitanjali*, his works in other forms have since been offered to the world in the English garb, and his readers' appreciation is aroused in different ways with different persons. He who lays claim to have understood the call of a "spiritual life" is in raptures over his purely mystic utterances, the more ordinary person imbued with a sufficient poetic appreciation of life in its varied phases and details, and of the physical beauties of nature has a great deal to admire in Tagore. There are also readers who scoff at Tagore's sentiments and are content to recognise the purity and rhythm of his prose style.

Whatever the variety of his readers' appreciation, as has been said already, Tagore's creations subserve an organic unity of conception. The message of the *Gitanjali* runs through all his other writings, whether in love-lyrics, child-songs, plays or stories. The songs of the *Gardener* harp on the principles of God's creation and point to the delight of life being kept alive perpetually by death. The *Crescent Moon* is erected on the child's supreme

consciousness of its immortal kinship. The same fact leads to Amal's expectation of an epistle from the King of Kings in the *Post Office*. *The King of the Dark Chamber* has hardly any dramatic interest outside its mystic symbolism. And the short stories, which are sometimes accepted as simple pictures of Bengal life, are not really such. The stories are always short because Tagore does not conceive them as ordinary observers of life will. There are peculiar little bits of life in which Tagore's imagination is instinctively kindled. The bits of life are those which illustrate to him vividly the deeper or spiritual meaning of life. The remark may be hazarded here that Tagore cannot successfully write a long novel, for the reason that the deeper suggestion invariably underlying his pictures of life cannot be sustained except in a short story. His last novel depicting the course of a high-born Bengali lady, the wife of a sober-minded and really philanthropic gentleman, misled for a time by the flatteries and false reasoning of an impulsive political propagandist, is the first example of a long novel and serves by its long introspective soliloquies, to show Tagore's incapacity to write a novel in the ordinary sense of the word. Most of Tagore's stories are tragic in colour, because death the completion of life, is the profoundest fact to him.

It is almost an accident that Tagore's stories, subserving as they do his mystic vision, possess a pleasing literary merit. It is true Tagore did not write his stories with a deliberate purpose,—and no artist worth the name does so,—but Tagore's *instinct* is not to tell human stories in the ordinary way, his understanding always surpasses the ordinary significance of the events of human life. But this mystic outlook is not in contradiction to the ordinary poetic delight that one can feel of human life, it is only its extension. If we grant that the imagination of the mystic

covers the imagination of the ordinary poet and is only its more intense extension, Tagore stands the chance of being counted among the best of story-writers. But this perfect ideal does not seem realised in practice. Tagore's stories all gravitate towards certain phases of life only. Death, its suggestion and approach, are all dear to Tagore. Nature, with its suggestion of the immanent soul of God, giving him thoughts too deep for tears, frequently fills his narratives. A dumb girl claims his attention because she is like a blossom of nature which cannot speak. Children figure in many stories because they have only lately come to earth like trailing clouds of glory from heaven, and the prison-house of life has not closed upon them completely. Tagore cannot become myriad-minded like Shakespeare, who was entirely innocent of mysticism.

There are numerous instances in the stories where a human appreciation of the art is interfered with by the expression of mystic reflections. An illustration may be cited from "Mashi." A young man is bed-ridden with illness which was to prove fatal. He suffers from the mental agony of unrequited love. Mani, his wayward wife, is too completely absorbed in her girl-life and its interests to express devotion to her husband. Even at a time when her husband's life was despaired of, her resolution to go to her father's home to participate in the festivities of her little brother's "Annaprāsanna" ceremony, remains inflexible.

Stories of unrequited love have been woven in the best literatures of the world. *The Newly-Married Couple* of the Norwegian dramatist, Bjørnsen, is an excellent illustration. Only at the point of jealousy is her wifely love awakened. In Shakespeare is the longing of the lover ;

When the rich golden shaft
Hath kill'd the flock of all affections else
That live in her ; when liver, brain and heart,
These sovereign thrones, are all suppli'd and fill'd
Her sweet perfections with one self king !

In Tagore's "Mashi" the young man is put into a delusion by his aunt that his wife has wept at the very idea of leaving her husband to go to her father's home. Excited, the young man sits up in bed and wants the window to be opened and the lamp removed. We then read :

"The still night stood silently at the window like a pilgrim of eternity ; and the stars gazed in witnesses through untold ages of countless death-scenes."

The common reader asks himself : Why all this, why not on with the story ? But the spiritualist stops at the sentence and thinks his labour of reading the story rewarded only in reflections like this.

II.

The springs of Tagore's genius for story-creation are found again in the faculty associated with the mystic poet of using parables, all stories of human life being of attraction according to their capacity to serve for parables. Let us instance here the fiftieth song in the *Gitanjali*, which is a little story. A beggar beholds the King of Kings coming in a chariot. The beggar is asked : "What hast thou to give me ?" Filled with confusion, the beggar took out the least little grain and gave it to him. At the day's end is discovered a least little grain of gold in the poor man's heap. "I bitterly wept and wished that I had the heart to give thee my all." The entire song can be viewed as a most touching tale of the moral life of man. Is it not the eternal ideal that in the bitterest adversity our moral natures should remain uncorrupted ? An act of virtue performed in the face of opposite temptation is many times more precious than in its absence. Or, reducing it to a very common fact of experience, how often have we not been pleasantly surprised at the turn of gratitude shown to us in a disproportionately high degree, for the good we had done grudgingly ? They are

moments, of great shame and keen repentance to our inner nature.

Mysticism pervades Tagore's stories, while on the other side it is to be remarked that beautiful human stories are woven into pure songs of mystic ecstasy. It is possible that to the author there is no difference apparent between the mystic perception of the universe and the ordinary understanding of the facts of human life. The one is the other to him. It would indeed be a beautiful consummation if every mind could be induced to see the mystic in the real, or the Infinite in the Finite. It would also be necessary for the imagination of the mystic to extend as widely as to comprehend every different aspect and detail of life. As long as the practice of mystics like Tagore shows however marked limitations in the sphere of their creations, it will have to be concluded that mystics cannot become the best of story-tellers.

Whether Tagore's art of story-telling is interpreted as an accident or not, his productions in the line have proved a valuable model in the field of literary creation in India. The modern novel is yet to be adequately realised in India. Just at present, the short story by emphasising restraint and observance of artistic unity, is a welcome form of literary expression to exercise in, even as the sonnet offered an admirable model for poetic creation in England at the beginning of the Elizabethan age. Indian writers are only slowly abandoning the old heroic tales of improbable and impossible deeds and situations, to find charm and poetry in the every-day life around them. On the other hand, western writers of Indian stories are apt to give exaggerated pictures. These become superficial and panoramic. The lowest classes, which alone come under their intimate observation, supply their types of characters while the writers are comparative strangers to the life of the higher classes and their inner spirit.

The realism of Tagore's art is not only in the choice of familiar scenes of life but also in the conception of his characters. He never admits monsters of virtue, and on the other hand, he does not, like some specious artists who are anxious to satirise some current evil institutions of society, offer unrelieved pictures of wickedness. He has the proper instinct to know that art, like life, should contain an essential element of good. "Humanising" the characters is one of the marked elements of Tagore in common with the greatest creative artists like Shakespeare. Attention may be drawn here to the story called "Vision." Kumo's husband is a most delicately developed character. At first he is the eager lover, self-confident in his own supreme wisdom, and keenly resentful of interference from Kumo's relatives. By his folly in presuming to give medical treatment himself to Kumo's ailing eyes, he totally destroys their sight. When he is able to realise for himself the folly, he is filled with profound repentance and makes amends to his wife by remaining constantly with her, and by diligently attending to her wants. As time goes on, the wife also makes up for the deficiency of her lost eyesight, by fulfilling the domestic functions through the sheer practice of the other senses. Then comes a period of darkness enveloping the lives of the couple. The husband's heart is wooed by lust for money, and in the practice of his profession as doctor, grows to be heartless towards the poor and wretched. The life of the husband drifts apart from the tender love of the blind wife, till at last the situation is accentuated by the coming of an aunt of the husband who advises the young man to marry a second wife possessing eyesight in perfect condition. The husband who had long before protested vehemently against the suggestion of taking a second wife to himself now seems willing to yield to the aunt's suggestion. A time of agonising heart-stress is then passed by the husband

and wife, the former wavering in his resolution, and the latter burning with jealousy and despair. At last the proposed bride for the second marriage is wedded to Kumo's brother and the sense of relief that came to Kumo does not seem to be shared with any less intensity by her husband. Kumo's husband has been won back to the heart of his true wife, to be happy as before. When indignantly asked by the jealous wife as to how a second wife is thought necessary, the husband says: "I will tell you the truth. I am afraid of you, your blindness has enclosed you in its fortress and I have no entrance. To me you are no longer a woman. You are awful as my God. I cannot live my every-day life with you. I want a woman—just an ordinary woman whom I can be free to chide and coax and pet and scold." The wife protests that she is nothing but an ordinary woman.

In the sketch of the character of the young man given here it may be seen that there are several situations in which Tagore's humanising art is requisitioned, and is exercised with the best of effects. In his foolish self-confidence to treat his wife's ailing eyes, while yet he was a medical student, his conduct arouses the reader's severe condemnation; but the relief comes happily when he is full of remorse and repentance. Again he is tempted into lust of money, and he is sordid enough to think of a second wife, but complete satisfaction is again afforded in his genuine sense of relief, when his re-marriage becomes impossible, and his own confession serves to acquit him on all scores.

III.

Not the least of Tagore's gifts as a creative artist is his capacity to enter into complete sympathy with all the different stages of human life. He is himself endowed with the gift of perennial youth.

The picture of the little dumb girl with two white ducklings clasped to her breast in "The Auspicious Vision" may well remind one of Wordsworth's simple children of nature. A grim story is narrated in "My Lord the Baby" of a despairing servant, the baby of whose charge is drowned in a river: "In that first terrible moment his blood froze within him. Before his eyes the whole universe swam round like dark mist. From the depth of his broken heart he gave one piercing cry: 'Master, master, little Master.'

"But no voice answered, 'Chan-na,' no child laughed mischievously back; no scream of baby delight welcomed his return. Only the river ran on, with its splashing, gurgling noise as before,—as though it knew nothing at all, and had no time to attend to such a tiny human event as the death of a child." One may be reminded of Lucy Gray lost in the snows; or, one may recall even the lines of Matthew Arnold on the flow of the Oxus after the terrible slaughter of Sohrab by his father, the mighty Rustom.

But Tagore is capable of more active sympathy for children than what has been mentioned. In "The Home-Coming" is the sublimest revelation of the tragic depths of boy-life. It is the story of a naughty boy whom the mother gets rid of by sending him away to live with her brother. The boy finds his life extremely uncomfortable in the new home under the tyranny of the aunt. The unwelcome nature of the addition of the boy to the uncle's home is brought out as follows: "In this world of human affairs there is no worse nuisance than a boy at the age of fourteen. He is neither ornamental nor useful. It is impossible to shower affection on him, as on a little boy; and he is always getting in the way. If he talks with a childish lisp he is called a baby, and if he answers in a grown-up way he is called impertinent. . . . The lad himself becomes painfully self-conscious. When he talks with

elderly people he is either unduly forward, or else so unduly shy that he appears ashamed of his very existence." Phatik, the inconvenient boy, falls ill in the uncle's home, and, afraid of the aunt's reproaches, he wanders away in the streets of Calcutta, exposed to the rains. The boy is brought back home by the police, to his despair, and is put to bed in high delirious fever. He cries out in his delirium :

" 'By the mark!—three fathoms. By the mark—four fathoms. By the mark—' He had heard the sailor on the river-steamer calling out the mark on the plumb-line. Now he was himself plumbing an unfathomable sea." The story concludes with Phatik's death: "Phatik very slowly turned his head, and without seeing anybody, said: 'Mother, the holidays have come.'"

Experience of the world varies from period to period in a man's life. The characteristic feeling of each period is the most absorbing, though dying out at the transition to the next period. To the ordinary man nothing kindles his imagination or sympathetic understanding except what falls in the outlook of the particular period of his life. And it is the poet's supreme gift to be able to eternise the evanescent facts of human life. We may recall here one of Tagore's numerous observations: "When a man is young, stupidity appears to him the worst of crimes."

IV.

Tagore's power for tragic painting is marvellous. One may be reminded of Sir Walter Scott's similar mastery of the tragic art as exhibited in the "Bride of Lamermoor" and in his short stories. In the "Victory" of Tagore, which is a perfect little story, we have a court poet, the sincerity of whose poetic passion is matched against the verbal gifts of another poet. The victory is adjudged in the latter's favour, in the king's court. Shekhar, the vanquished poet, goes home in despair and drinks a

poisonous potion. The Princess Ajita bestows the favour of visiting him on his death-bed.

“The woman said to him : ‘I am the Princess Ajita.’

“The poet with a great effort sat upon his bed.

“The Princess whispered into his ear : ‘The King has not done you justice. It was you who won at the combat, my poet, and I have come to crown you with the crown of victory.’

“She took the garland of flowers from her own neck, and put it on his hair, and the poet fell down upon his bed stricken by death.”

The most intense effects of horror are visible in the story, “Living or Dead?” The widow Kadambini lives in her brother-in-law’s house and has lavished her entire affections on his child. She is thought to be dead suddenly and carried to the cremation ground, when her heart had only temporarily ceased to beat. When she is awake she is in terror of herself, and flees to find an asylum in the house of a woman-friend of hers. But the people there hear of Kadambini’s reported death, and are frightened to look upon her living. She is forced to go back again to the brother-in-law’s home, where the familiar surroundings convince her that she is living. But her brother-in-law and his wife take her for an evil spirit and ghost, and guard their child from her caresses. “Kadambini could bear no more. She said, ‘Oh, I am not dead. Oh, how can I persuade you that I am not dead? I am living, living!’ She lifted a brass pot from the ground and dashed it against her forehead. The blood ran from her brow. ‘Look!’ she cried, ‘I am living.’ Saradasankar stood like an image, the child screamed with fear, the two fainting women lay still.

Then Kadambini, shouting, ‘I am not dead, I am not dead,’ went down the steps to the zenana well, and plunged in. From the upper story Saradasankar heard the splash.

All night the rain poured; it poured next day at

dawn, was pouring still at noon. By dying Kadambini had given proofs that she was not dead."

A key to Tagore's partiality for the tragic may be found in his utterance in the *Gardener* :

"None lives for ever, brother, and nothing lasts for long. Keep that in mind and rejoice."

Death is never a gloomy depressing fact to Tagore :
 "All is done and finished in the eternal Heaven. But earth's flowers of illusion are kept eternally fresh by death."

V.

Along with his consummate power to produce tragic effects Tagore commands in no small degree the arts of satire and humour. In the "Babus of Nayanjore" we have the story of an impoverished scion of a great house reminding one of the Master of Ravenswood in Scott's novel. The analogy, however, should be confined to Ganesh and Caleb Balderstone. The story begins as follows :—

"Once upon a time the Babus of Nayanjore were famous landholders. They were noted for their princely extravagance. They would tear off the rough border of their Dacca muslin, because it rubbed against their skin. They could spend many thousands of rupees over the wedding of a kitten. On a certain grand occasion it is alleged that in order to turn night into day they lighted numberless lamps and showered silver threads from the sky to imitate sunlight."

Tagore's humour, however, does not end in innocent ripples of laughter. It frequently passes into grim tragedy. A satirical sketch may be extracted here as a typical example : "In the voyage of life he had arrived at the desert shores of Rai Bahadurship by diligently playing his oars of *salams*. He held in reserve enough for further advancement; but at the age of fifty-five, his tender gaze still fixed on the misty peak of Raja-hood, he

suddenly found himself transported to a region where earthly honours are naught, and his *salaam*-wearied neck found everlasting repose on the funeral pyre."

VI.

In point of construction Tagore's short stories present models of perfection. The sense of unity is never marred; the concentration of one picture, one thought, or one feeling is wonderfully achieved. Realism and unity are preserved in many stories by special devices. In the brilliant story of "The Hungry Stones," where lovely apparitions of Persian beauties lingering in an ancient Mussalman palace are mentioned, the narrative is skilfully put into the mouth of a fellow-passenger in the railway train, and it ends with both the parties alighting from it. "Once there was a King" is introduced as a fairy tale told a boy by the granny, when rainy weather confined him to the home. Probably the most dramatically finished of the stories is "The Renunciation." The story opens on the night of the full moon when Harihar Mukerji, a Brahmin, calls upon his son to drive away his wife, who had been discovered to be of Kayastha origin. All the details of the intrigue of revenge which lead up to this is then narrated, and on the fifth night of the waning of the moon, as in the fifth scene of an one-act play, the situation is solved.

"The sound of slippers was heard again. Approaching the door, Harihar Mukerji said: 'You have had enough time,—I can't allow you more. Turn the girl out of the house.'

"Kusum, as she heard this, embraced her husband's feet with all the ardour of a lifetime, covered them with kisses and touching her forehead to them reverentially, withdrew herself.

"Hemanta rose, and walking to the door, said: " 'Father, I won't forsake my wife.'

“ ‘What!’ roared out Harihar, ‘would you lose your caste, Sir?’

“ ‘I don’t care for caste,’ was Hemanta’s calm reply.

“ ‘Then you too I renounce.

VII.

Whatever his achievements are up to now in the line of the short story, Sir Tagore has no uncertain vision of his art. The greatest quality in him is his robust faith in life.

“ ‘Ah poet, the evening draws near; your hair is turning grey.

‘Do you in your lonely musing hear the message of the hereafter?’

‘It is evening,’ the poet said, ‘and I am listening because someone may call from the village, late though it be.’

‘I watch if young straying hearts meet together, and two pairs of eyes beg for music to break their silence to speak for them.’

‘Who is there to weave their passionate songs, if I sit on the shore of life and contemplate death and the beyond?’ And then the poet’s requisite quality of boundless love is also reflected :

“ It is a trifle that my hair is turning grey.

“ I am ever as young or as old as the youngest and the oldest of this village.

“ Some have smiles, sweet and simple, and some a sly twinkle in their eyes.”

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THE SETUPATIS OF RAMNAD.

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RAMA, the mythical hero of the Ramayana, is said to have founded the kingdom of Ramnad on his return from Lanka and appointed a king there (from among his faithful followers), having conferred upon him the proud title of "Setupati," meaning "the guardian or Lord of the Causeway." Tradition apart, history has it that this race of Marava kings played an important part in the history of this part of India during the middle ages, and, like the powerful Dukes of Burgundy, who once made and unmade the throne of France, the Setupatis, though nominally the feudatories of the Pandyas of Madura, were the undisputed masters of a great part of the Coromandel Coast. As their name implies, they enjoyed from time immemorial the unique privilege of being styled the "Lords of Rama's Causeway" and of receiving homage from pilgrims of all castes and creeds, who looked upon a pilgrimage to Setu at the confluence of the two seas near Dhanushkodi as an act of great religious importance.

The origin of this race of kings in South India has been a subject of some controversy among students of Indian History, who have paid some attention to the investigation of this part of their research work. The object of this paper is to remove certain misconceptions and exaggerations which scholars of two schools of thought have conceived of the origin of this historic family. One school is represented by the writer or writers of *The Chronicles of the Marava Country* published in the *Calcutta Review*, No. CXXXIII, Art. 1, and the other school is represented by J. H. Nelson, Wilson and Sewell—three eminent scholars who laboured in the field of unravelling

the mysteries of South Indian History. The following extract from the *Calcutta Review* adopts an extreme view regarding the origin of this family :—“ The failure of all positive evidence about the reign of any Marava preceding the marvellous youth (Sadaikka Tevan Udayan), the first Setupati, the absence of any inscription on buildings to attest it, the very awkwardness of his introduction into history are all points selected to justify complete rejection of the presumption that the principality of Ramnad had been in existence for many centuries before Sadaikka Tevan Udayan was Setupati.”

In direct opposition to this theory J. H. Nelson, I.C.S., in his *Manual of the Madura District*, writes as follows :—

“ But the question naturally arises, how ancient and important was the territory which he thus gained? Professor Wilson has given in his catalogue (see Vol. I, page 195) an abstract of a manuscript in the Mackenzie collection, from which it appears that the author of it understood the Maravas to be a tribe which had been originally transplanted from Ceylon, and of which certain members had been appointed Setupatis or custodians of the Isthmus of Rameswaram, by Rama the hero. They were long subject to the Pandyas, but in the course of time became sufficiently powerful to shake off their yoke ; and at last made their masters their servants ; and they remained lords paramount of the Pandyan Kingdom for no less than eleven generations ; and during three reigns ruled over the whole of the South India. Finally they were driven back to the south of the river Cauvery by the Kurumba prince of Alagapuri, and Madura and Tanjore were taken from them by the officers of the Vijayanaga Rayar. Then again, the appointment of Setupatis by Rama is expressly mentioned in Ponnusami Tevar's Memorandum referred to above. And from the Carnatic history it clearly appears that there was already a

Setupati in the time of Muthukrishnappa. So too in the chronicle of the acts of the Setupatis translated by Mr. Taylor, at the end of his work, it is stated that "in the early times when the Chakravartis flourished, seven persons from among the inhabitants of this Ramnad Peninsular coast were appointed in order to be its guardians. When thus through a long and remote traditionary period they had continued for many generations to guard it, one among the seven persons, the son of Shethunga Tevan, who was named Sadaikka Tevan Udayan Setupati . . . being the chief of the seven, received authority to rule this kingdom, and etc." Lastly, it appears from a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society by Mr. Prialux in the month of November 1860, and published in Volume XVIII, part II of R.A.S. Journal, that the writer, looking to the fact that according to the Mahavansi, the last of the Tamil three invasions of Ceylon, which took place in the third and second centuries before Christ, was under the leadership of seven Chieftains and looking to the fact of the silence of the Pandya Chronicle with regard to Pandya dealings with Ceylon, thinks it probable that these invasions were led by mere adventurers and not by the Generals of the Pandya kings. Supposing this ingenious suggestion to be one of truth, it would seem to be very probable that these seven adventurers, who are described in the Rajavali more than once as coming from Sholarata (Chola country) were the seven chiefs whose existence is recorded in the chronicle translated in Mr. Taylor's work, and had pushed their conquests north of their modern boundaries. And the probability is greatly increased by the circumstance that Sir Emerson Tennent states (so says the paper) that the Tamils who invaded Ceylon were ruled by a dynasty of Rajahs who held their court at Nalloor, coupled with the fact that Ponnusami Tevar's Memorandum expressly states that, at one time, the Setupatis made Virava Nallur (one

of the many towns in South India called Nallur) their capital. This Virava Nallur is situated near Ramnad and the sea coast, and there can be no ground for supposing that Pandya kings ever made it their capital.

At last he had become so powerful that the Governor was pleased or perhaps compelled to make over to him a large slice of the country between Madura and the sea, and confer on him the title of Setupati. More than this, the Udayan was actually anointed in Madura with holy water from the Ganges, and made king of the country granted to him: and afterwards went home to his capital, and lived in great state: though he by no means gave himself up to luxury."

Evidently Mr. Nelson has for his authority the following extracts from the Oriental Historical Manuscripts in the Tamil Language, translated with annotations by William Taylor, Missionary, Volume II, Madras, 1835, Appendix G, page 49:—

"In the MS. No. 4 (cata. p. 195) is an account of the Marava prince and a statement that the Setupatis or Rulers at Rameswaram had conquered their masters at Madura reducing these to the state of feudatories for three reigns; the same having occurred antecedent to the Vijayanagaram ascendancy. Subsequently we have accounts in the Carnataka dynasty of the Setupatis of considerable distinctness. Antecedently the only intimation on the subject that we can derive is from the Statapurana (Vol. I, p. 77) in the thirtieth Tiruvilayadal, where the Seturayan is, no doubt, the chief of the district named after the Setu or Isthmus of Rameswaram (for such it once was, though now an island by the gradual rise of the sea)."

Carnataka Dynasty.

"In the manuscript of the Mackenzie collection entitled Pandyal Mandala Rajakal some mention of the Marava country occurs; of which Mr. Wilson gives the

following abstract : "The work contains also some account of the people of Marava who, it is said, were originally a colony of fishermen from Ceylon settled at Rameswaram and on the opposite coast by Rama to guard the temple. They were made slaves by the new colonists and long continued to be subject to the Pandyan princes ; at length becoming numerous, they rose against their masters and established themselves under their own princes, the Setupatis or lords of the straits ; the Chandra or Sender Bandi apparently of Marco Polo. For eleven generations, the Setupatis were lords paramount even over Madura and the Pandya princes were reduced to the condition of feudatories until the whole of the kingdom fell under the Marava power for three reigns ; when they were driven to the south of the Kaveri again by the Kurumba prince of Alagapuri ; and finally Madura and Tanjore were taken from them by the officers of the Vijayanagar kings."

Mr. Wilson's views have received additional corroboration from Mr. Robert Sewell's sketch of the dynasties of the Southern India. Referring to the Setupatis of Ramnad he writes :—

"The Setupatis claim to belong to the ancient Marava race and to have been rulers of the whole of the south of India before the immigration of the Kurumbas, by whom the Maravars were defeated and driven back to the extreme south. Their chiefs lost all semblance of power till the descendant of the old ruling family was, in the seventeenth century, reinstated in a portion of his ancient patrimony by Muthu Krishnappa, the Nayakka of Madura, and installed at Ramnad. Mr. Nelson (Madura country, pp. 110-115) discusses the former history of the Setupatis, and his remarks should be studied. He concludes that there were certainly lords of Ramnad from a very remote period, and that the Setupati created by Muthu Krishnappa was probably grandson of the last

Setupati, who had been murdered by 'One of the last of the Pandyas, who preceded Viswanatha Nayakan.' I have Dr. Burgess' authority for the statement that there was an Udayan Setupati, who in S.S. 1411 (A. D. 1489-90) made additions to the temple; and a Tirumala Setupati who in S.S. 1422 (A. D. 1500-1) built part of the second Prakara and had a son named Ragunatha-Tirumala who was alive in S.S. 1461 (A. D. 1539-40). The Setupatis had a coinage of their own. It is observed that at the beginning of the sixteenth century there was no Setupati in existence. The cultivation had become very limited. Thick jungles had sprung up in every direction. The roads were infested with gangs of robbers. Every village was under a petty ruler, who acted with free independence and oppressed and harassed the pilgrims who resorted to Rameswaram. Muthu Krishnappa, the then ruler of Madura, was earnestly exhorted by the pilgrims to appoint a ruler, whose authority could conduce to their safe travel, to and from Rameswaram. Further there was also the cessation of revenue collection from these petty chiefs to be attended to. Muthu Krishnappa, therefore, thought it expedient to re-establish the ancient Marava dynasty of the Setupatis or the guardians of Rameswaram. Accordingly he had Sadaikka Tevar, a descendant of the ancient Setupati, crowned at Bogalur, a village ten miles to the west of Ramnad, in the year 1604. He was further created chief of the seventy Poligars. It is from this period that we have got some authentic history of the Setupatis."

Confirmation of Mr. Sewell's view is found in such stray extracts as the following:—

1. Memoir of Ramnad Zemindari, Volume IV, page 149: "Ramnad anciently conducted under a despotic Government of the reigning Rajahs called 'Saidoo Buddee,' the great Maravar. The authority is now vested in Shivagami Natchiar, hereditary Rane."

2. Maclean's report, *Madras Manual of the Administration*, Vol. I. "The chief or Setupati of Ramnad in the Madura District, was in ancient times a person of much note. The founder of the ancient Marava dynasty of Setupatis or guardians of the Isthmus and the sacred temple of Rameswaram, was supposed to be appointed by Rama himself."

3. Letter from Father Martin, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, to Father De Velette, of the same Society—Marava country in Madura, 8th November 1709, page 106.

"This country is Marava, a kingdom tributary to that of Madura. The prince who rules over it is, however, only a tributary in name; for he has troops capable of withstanding those of the king of Madura, if the latter should think of enforcing his right by an appeal to arms. He rules with absolute power and holds under his sway several other princes whom he deprives of their territories when he likes."

4. *The Imperial Gazetteer*, Madras II, page 234.

Ramnad Estate:—"The chiefs of Ramnad appear to have undoubtedly borne the title as far back as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and in the early years of the seventeenth century it was formally conferred by one of the Nayak Kings of Madura on the head of the Marvans, from whom the present owners of the estate are descended."

5. *Pharoes' Gazetteer* of Southern India, pages 392-396. "According to the legend, Rama after founding the temple at Rameswaram consigned the hereditary charge of it, and the superintendence of the pilgrimage to the chief of a tribe of Maravars belonging to the village of Pogalur. During an uncertain but protracted interval, the supposed descendants of this chief continued dependants and servants of the Pandya Monarchy. A

few years after the irruption of Mujahid Shah or about 1380, the chief of Ramnad threw off his dependance on Madura and his successors extended their authority to the neighbouring provinces.

It is supposed by many that the Maravars (*i.e.*, the people of Ramnad and Shevaganga) are the aborigines of the part of the Carnatic. Even to this day their features are different from those of their neighbours and are such as to give some probable ground for the conjuncture that the legend above narrated of the co-operation of the Monkey tribe and their king Hanuman in the conquest of Ceylon, originated in aid really afforded in that enterprise to the Brahminical invaders by this people. The Maravars profess to worship Siva, but in the course of centuries their religious ceremonies have been much influenced by the Brahmans. With regard to their wedding ceremonies and re-marriage of widows, there is a wide departure from the universal Hindu custom.

In the reign of Muthu Krishnappa Naick of Madura the chief of Ramnad, Woodia Sadekey or Sadaica Tevar, having conveyed in safety the King's Guru (or priest) to Rameswaram received from the Sovereign the title of Sethu-pati or 'Lord of the causeway,' and had his independence acknowledged to a great extent. This was about 1590 A. D. The power of the Maravar rulers first assumed a consistent form at the period here described. They were not, however, entirely independent, as, although authorized to extend their authority over their refractory and predatory neighbours, they were required to pay tribute to the Madura Government. They were especially enjoined to give protection to the pilgrims to Rameswaram against the Cullers and Maravars, who had been accustomed to plunder and harass these devotees on their passage, so as almost to have deterred the people of other parts of India from undertaking so perilous a journey."

6. Of the copies of copper plate grants made by the former rulers retained in the Samasthanam on palm leaves, there is one which purports to be a copy of a copper plate embodying the grant of Maruthangulam village to one Mangai Perumal Kurukal in S. 1248 (A. D. 1325-26) for the daily worship of Alagiavinayagar. The grant is made by one Vennarasu Konda Tevar Avergal, and many of the titles found in later plates are also mentioned in the present plate—one of the titles mentioned therein refers to the supremacy of the Setupatis over Ceylon.

7. "The Deputy Secretary to Government at Colombo in his letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort Saint George, dated 7th November 1829, relating to the claims of the Pagodas of Dherbasayanam, etc., to the privilege of fishing certain boats at the pearl fishery at Colombo, refers among others to a copper plate grant made by Raghunatha Setupati, the translation of which was recorded by His Excellency the Governor North, when recognising the claims of the seven Pagodas in 1799. The substance of it as given in the Deputy Secretary's letter is—'Dherbasayanam or Tiruppullani—on the 25th day of Panguni of the Hindu year Bagudanya, answering to the fifth day of April A. D. 1607 (the date seems to be wrong) Hiranya Gharbhiyaji Raghunatha Setupati Katta Tevar Sovereign prince round Ramnad, styled conqueror of Ceylon and Jaffna, doth dedicate one boat with five stones in the pearl fishery of Manaar as Inam (gift) for charitable act."

8. Historical sketches of ancient Deccan, volume I, by K. V. S. Ayyar—Pandy kings of the 7th century A. D.—page 125. "The reputed author of the commentary on Irayanar Agapporal and four other poets, *viz.*, Madurai, Marudan, Ilanagarar, Karikannanar of Kaviripumpattinam, Mulangilar of Avur and Vadavannakan, Periasathan have written five pieces in the collection of

Purananuru in praise of a certain Maran. He is probably identical with Arikesari Maravarman, the victor of Nelveli Nackirar, writing about him in Puram, says that he is the most renowned of the three kings of the south ; that, though he was powerful on account of his large arms of elephants, horses, chariots and Marava soldiers, yet he was justly known for his heroism, calmness and liberality."

9. The same—(page 150 to 160)—Invasion of Lunkhapura Dandanatha of Ceylon, General of Parakramabahu, King of Ceylon about the year 1173 A. D. "Koluvura and Maruthupa were taken and the army of *Marava* soldiers of the countries of Kangundya and Kolura was subdued. Lunkhapura then marched against the territory of Viraganga, laid waste Kunappanallur and other villages and brought under subjection Malavarayar." On his return to Parakramapura he fought with Alavemda and slew him at Vadali."

10. In corroboration of this invasion and conquest there is still an inscription at Dambala in Ceylon, which states that Parakramabahu, King of Ceylon (1155 to 1188) built a temple at Rameswaram called Nisankeswarar Temple. The name of the Pandya king is given as Kulasekara (*vide* page 274 of Mr. Robert Sewell's *Archæological survey of Southern India*, volume II).

Thus it is seen that there is a mass of evidence in support of the second theory that the Setupati dynasty has had an ancient origin and that Sadaikka Udayan Setupati, who was formally proclaimed Setupati in 1604 by Muthu Krishnappa Nayakka of Madura, was certainly not the first of the Setupati rulers of Rameswaram and its neighbourhood. As observed by the advocates of the first theory, there is nothing awkward in the abrupt introduction of this Sadaikka Udayan Setupati in history. On the other hand, the enthronement of a boy of 12 years of age (tradition affirms that Sadaikka Tevar was a boy of 12 years

at the time of his coronation) the willing obedience ungrudgingly yielded to him by other Marava chieftains within his jurisdiction, who would by nature brook no external control especially by a boy, and the additional honour conferred upon him by the Madura ruler as the head of the 72 Poligars under his control—all these and a host of other evidences already mentioned, unmistakably point to only one conclusion that this family has a claim to trace its origin from almost prehistoric times and that the political act of Muthu Krishnappa Nayakkan has only brought about the revival of the power and prestige of the early Setupatis who, about the end of the sixteenth century, seem to have sunk to insignificance and loss of sovereignty. While unreservedly admitting the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Nelson and Mr. Sewell (whose views seem to be largely based upon the account given of this family in the manuscripts of the Mackenzie collection) regarding the ancientness of this family and their claim to the title of Setupati (or more appropriately Setu Kavalan), we have yet to take exception to a few statements made by them, in the absence of reliable historical testimony to warrant the statement that the Setupati Rajahs were once the masters of almost the whole of South India, that they were defeated and driven south of the Cauvery by the Kurumbas of Alagapuri and that subsequently Tanjore and Madura were taken away from their possession by the Nayakka Generals of the Vijayanagar sovereigns. The fact that they had considerable influence in the court at Tanjore or Madura may be easily conceded, because even later history often makes mention of the fact of their help being solicited either by one or the other or both of these rulers against each other or against a common enemy who threatened to usurp their thrones.

Modern researches made in the field of South Indian history by eminent scholars and archæologists have

brought to light certain facts of history which almost contradict the statements made by these two eminent scholars. The last of the Chola Kings of Tanjore, by name Virasekhara Cholan, is said to have led an expedition in the south against Chandrasekhara-Pandyan of Madura, defeated and dispossessed him of his throne.

The exiled Pandyan became a fugitive at the court of Vijayanagar, which was just then rising to importance. The Rayar of Vijayanagar took up the cause of the Pandyan King and sent a large army under his General Nagama Nayakkan to deprive the Chola King of his usurped territory and place Chandrasekhara on the throne of his ancestors. Virasekhara Chola was defeated and slain by Nagama Nayakkan, who made one Sevvappa Nayakkan, the husband of a sister of the Rayar's Queen, as Viceroy of Tanjore and proceeded to the south. "But then he suddenly threw off his allegiance and declining to help the Pandya assumed the position of an independent ruler. The Vijayanagar Emperor was furious at his defection, summoned a council, laid the matter before his most faithful officers and cried out to the assemblage, 'Where amongst you all is he who will bring me that rebel's head?' To the astonishment of every one present Nagama's own son, Viswanatha, volunteered to do so, and after some natural hesitation the King despatched him with a large force against the rebel. Viswanatha defeated his father in a pitched battle, placed him in confinement, and at length procured for him the unconditional pardon which had doubtless been from the first the object of his action." Viswanatha obeyed the orders of the Vijayanagar King so far as nominally to place the Pandya on the throne, but practically he became the ruler and the Pandyas disappeared in effect thenceforth from history. Tanjore too became virtually a principality under the suzerainty of Vijayanagar, and, after being ruled by a succession of four Nayakar rulers, passed into the hands of the Maharatta

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General who had ostensibly come at first under the orders of the Sultan of Bijapur to place the unfortunate Sengamaladass on the throne of his saintly grand-father Vijayaraghava Nayakkan, who died fighting against the bastard Alagiri Nayakkan of Trichinopoly. In all these wars the Maravas of Ramnad did play a prominent part, and yet in the absence of any other recorded evidence we are not at liberty to admit the statement made in the chronicles of the Carnataka dynasties that at one time they were masters of the whole of South India, till they were driven south by the Kurumbas of Alagapuri, which seems to be almost a historical myth.

On the other hand, a close investigation of the Tamil literature of the period has brought to light certain facts which seem to be of greater historical value.

The Maravans, as their name implies, are a race of sturdy and warlike people well skilled in the use of the bow and the arrow, the spear and the sword and especially a short of Boomerang. They may be looked upon as belonging to the other Tamil virile clans of Pallans, Paravas, Agambadians, etc., and they were, in all probability, the Dravidian aborigines of this part of the Peninsula.

They are essentially Siva worshippers, are devoted to the popular Tamilian Deity Muruga, and never forget the worship of Durga, their favourite goddess, to whom they believe they owe their warlike spirit. Though the early Setupatis were themselves Maravars of an orthodox type, yet occasionally they showed an inclination to other religions such as Jainism, Vaishnavanism, etc. The absence of many inscriptions in temples of gifts made by the Setupatis before the revival of the kingdom in 1604, is accounted for by some by the fact of a few Setupatis being of Jain persuasion like their overlords at Madura. Some three or four were decidedly Vaishnavites, owing, perhaps to the influence of the

Vijayanagar Kings or their Viceroys, who were essentially Vaishnavites in their faith. Such departures might be due to political causes, and on the whole the Setupatis have always been ardent worshippers of Ramanatha at Ramaswaram. Since the time of Kilavan Setupati, the greatest of the Setupatis, their titular deity seems to have been Raja Rajeswari Amman, who has a shrine dedicated to her within the precincts of their palace itself. The Maravas of old were essentially a military people, who looked upon all peaceful arts with contempt and delighted in rendering faithful service to those to whom they owed allegiance at the time. They were a truthful race and guarded the honour of their women with great zeal. They would rather suffer total annihilation than yield their women as prisoners of war, or as ransom to the victor. To show their keen sensitiveness to honour, they used to have a tuft of hair of the Kavari deer in their parasols. They were divided into clans—one called the Vetchi (*Ixora Coccinea*) and the other called the Karanthai (*Ocimum Basilicum*) after the name of the garlands of the particular flowers they wore on state occasions. The doings of these two clans of Maravars are fully described by a Sera poet Iyanarithanar. The Vetchi Maravars were a set of Maravars who generally waylaid and plundered travellers and pilgrims. They even sacked villages and carried away cattle. They used to take service under some kings for some stipulated reward, and after the term of engagement was over they used to return to their wild lawless life. They even used to take up private service and would recover the lost cow of a poor widow for a peg of toddy. The Karandai Maravars, on the other hand, were a more refined class of people, who always enlisted themselves as regular soldiers in the armies of the three great Tamil Kings—the Cholas, the Cheras and the Pandyas of South India. In fact, the word "Marava" seems to have been a title like any other South

Indian title as Udayar, Naick, Rayan, etc., and seems to have been originally conferred upon captains of a certain rank in the army. Naturally, therefore, the Karandai Maravars came to be classed under three heads—Chera Maravars, Chola Maravars and Pandya Maravars, according to the clan or dynasty of Kings under whom they served. Their service was always appreciated and their kings showed them great favour. Occasionally they proved turbulent subjects and could be kept under control only with great difficulty. The Setupatis belong to the Chola Karandai class of Maravars. They are also known as Sembinattu Maravars. Originally they lived in the east and south-east of Tanjore. They rose and fell in power according to the fortunes of the Chola kings under whom they served. Their proximity to the sea made them excellent seamen, and the Cholas owed all their maritime activities to these Maravars, who served in their navy. Their chief seaport was Tondi, which was of great strategic importance on account of its nearness to Ceylon and the command it enjoyed over Palk strait. A great many Maravars took to a seafaring life and there are branches of these Maravars now known as Marakaya Kilai, Kadarpatchi and Atrupatchi. Their war boats were known as Parimukha Ambi, Karimukha Ambi and Aarimukha Ambi after their respective figure heads of the animals placed on their prow—the horse, the elephant and the lion. They protected foreign commerce and put down piracy. They could often invade the north of Ceylon and indulge in their warlike propensities. It is from this Marava tribe that Rama chose the guardians of his causeway, and ever since they have made it their sacred duty to protect pilgrims to and from Rameswaram. They had the entire command of the Isthmus of Pamban and the Gulf of Manaar, and their devotion to their Chola masters secured them the sole privilege of the pearl

fishery along this coast. There was a fresh migration of Chola Maravars into the Pandya territory at the time of Raja Rajendra Chola, who conquered the Pandya kingdom and established the race of Chola Pandyas on the throne of Madura. In course of time the Maravars increased in power and military fame. They had to take part in the constant wars that broke out between these rival kingdoms, till both of them fell easy preys to the all-conquering invaders from the north. The Marava vassals were not slow to profit by the ruin of their masters, till at last they were able to shake off their vassalage and make themselves the independent sovereigns of a large tract of land lying along the Coromandel Coast from the mouth of the Coloroon to the extreme limit of point Kumari, now known as Comorin. The facts that they contented themselves with issuing only copper coins of inferior value, that these coins are met with more along the coast than in the interior, and they are not to be had beyond the banks of the Coloroon on the north and Madura on the west, point to the inevitable conclusion that the country lying within these borders should have been the extreme limits of the power of the Setupatis of Ramnad. If there had been any territorial expansion of this kingdom, it must have been in the direction of Ceylon and not on the mainland itself.

A careful examination of the copper plate inscriptions and early records in the custody of the estate officials discloses the fact that the Setupatis had their capital in various places at different times, and the very length of the list points an ancient origin to this dynasty. They are as follows :—1. Kullotunga Cholanallur, 2. Virayadakondan, 3. Sembi, 4. Karandai, 5. Virai, 6. Tevai (Rameswaram), 7. Manavai, 8. Malavai, 9. Pugalur and lastly 10. Ramnad. It is impossible to give a connected list of Setupatis, at least from the time of Lunkhapura's conquest, as the only sources of information—the inscriptions

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and copper plate Sasnamis in the Rameswaram temple and the old Cadjan records in the archives of the Ramnad Palace—have been either wantonly destroyed or eaten away by time. However, in an old manuscript the names of a few Setupatis who had lived before the seventeenth century, have been deciphered. But the list given is of no historical value, as it is a mere catalogue of names unsubstantiated by any dates or incidents of corroborative nature.

In conclusion, a careful investigation of the facts and authorities narrated above leads an unbiased mind, in the opinion of the present writer, to come to the conclusion that in the light of modern investigations, both the theories discussed above have to be completely modified, and the truth seems to be, as in all matters of controversy, in the middle. While the theory propounded in the *Calcutta Review* has to be rejected, care must be taken not to give undue importance to the power and prestige of a family which has always been content to play a subordinate rôle in the struggles for supremacy so often made by the South Indian Kings of old.

T. R. RANGASWAMI AYYANGAR, M.A.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN INDIA.

A Statement and Appeal by the National Missionary Council of India, Burma and Ceylon.

WHE, the members of the National Missionary Council of India, Burma and Ceylon, meeting at a time when men's minds in India are deeply moved, and passions are excited to a dangerous degree, and believing that some at least may look to us for guidance, place on record our conviction, that any Christian view of the present situation in the world at large, and in India in particular, must take account of the following principles :—

1. Our Master has said "One is your Father," and "All ye are brethren." These are the fundamental principles of human society as God designed it to be.

2. Every man and woman is of infinite value in God's sight, which He showed pre-eminently by sending His Son to die for all. Because God so loves them, we must treat every man and woman with respect. It is wrong to treat any with arrogance or contempt, or to use any as a chattel or as a machine.

3. Every association or community of men is intended by God to be a brotherhood, in which each tries to do all the service he can for all the others.

4. This conception of brotherhood should determine all industrial relations, putting an end to injustice and dishonesty, inconsiderateness and carelessness of employers and employed.

5. This conception of brotherhood, again, should determine all relations within the State, between those who govern and those who are governed, causing all government to rest upon the foundation of willing consent, securing the glad and hearty co-operation of all

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for the good of the country, and excluding oppression, violence, intimidation, suspicion and misrepresentation.

6. Once again, this conception of brotherhood should determine the relation between nations, turning the world into a family of nations, respecting and helping one another, instead of injuring one another by selfish competitions and from time to time breaking out into open war.

7. Under this conception of brotherhood a group of nations, such as the British Empire, should live together like a family, in which there would be no thought of the exploitation of weaker races, or of discrimination against any peoples on purely racial grounds, still less of victimising any of them by traffic in injurious products, such as alcohol or narcotics. The single aim of the stronger and more advanced members of such a family should be to assist the progress of the others in prosperity, good government, freedom and every other good thing.

8. Again Christ said that He came that men might have abundant life. We recognize, therefore, that it is His will that all men should have ever greater and better opportunities of developing the fulness of human life, social, political and spiritual.

As Christians, we must confess that we have failed in a lamentable degree both in individual and in national life to accept and follow fully those principles of Christ. But it is very clear to us that the salvation of society depends on the acceptance and the application of them.

Upon these principles then we base the following appeal :—

We appeal for just and sane judgments both of men and things. It is not just to judge a century by some of the months in it, a whole nation by certain of its members, or its whole history by a few of its pages. The history of every Imperial Power contains pages stained and disfigured ; we do not pretend that the history of the British

Empire is an exception to this rule. But the fact is beyond controversy that now for a long time it has been characterised by an ever-growing tendency to grant to its component parts increasing measures of self-government. The Empire is becoming a Commonwealth of nations and these nations are learning to regard themselves as a family. The attention of the British people is now turned to India, and we believe that there is a general and sincere desire among them that India should have full self-government as soon as possible. We urge all the inhabitants of this country, both foreigners and Indians, to accept with good-will the recent changes in the system of Government, and to do all in their power to make the new conditions a successful stage in the progress toward that goal. Given mutual good-will on the part of both races and confidence in each other's intentions, the future will be bright with promise.

We call upon all men in the name of God to lay aside all race hatred and class hatred, upon which it is impossible to build any solid structure, social or political.

We utter a solemn warning against the desperate and false contention that the inequalities of the existing order can only be removed by violence and blood. The truth is that society cannot be reconstructed by breaking the elementary laws of God and man.

We utter an equally solemn warning against the inclination, which is one of the evil legacies of war, to trust to force as the means of procuring obedience and maintaining authority. The truth is that society cannot be saved by force apart from that reasonableness and equity in government and administration which win the hearts of the people.

We beg all our fellow citizens to turn to God, who created them to be brethren, and to seek from Him, who alone can give it, the power to love as brethren and in love to serve one another. By that power we can find the way out of our anxieties. In His light we shall see light.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

SONNETS, POEMS AND TRANSLATIONS.— By
the late Charles Russell, M.A., I.A.R.O. (Calcutta,
Thacker, Spink and Co.)

Lovers of "the Good, the Beautiful," are indebted to Mr. J. A. Chapman of the Imperial Library for his collection of the poetical remains of Charles Russell, formerly Principal of Patna College, whose death in Palestine in November 1917 his friends will never cease to mourn. Their thanks are due also to Mr. Chapman for the memoir and eight introductory sonnets which he has prefixed to the volume. These, despite some tendency to exaggeration of style, make it possible for readers who were not personally acquainted with Russell to feel something of the atmosphere which surrounded him. The collected poems alone do not suffice for this; perhaps because they are not sufficiently numerous or long; perhaps because poetry was not the natural vehicle of Russell's most intimate and characteristic thoughts. The poems are the work of an accomplished scholar, but they only partly express what was far better than his scholarship, the unusual beauty and charm of his nature. These are indeed visible in his verses, but they needed the foreword which Mr. Chapman has adequately supplied, though not without the aid of thick type and some disregard of the rule that a sentence should have a verb in it.

What is the secret of the charm which Charles Russell cast over all his many friends, and indeed over almost all whom he met even as mere acquaintances? Unusual as were his intellectual powers it was not his lot to accomplish great things. He died at the age of forty-five with strangely little achieved for one who had started on life's high enterprise so well equipped and with such lofty

purpose. On setting out for India at the age of twenty-seven he wrote enthusiastically—

“ But let me wake. The hour flies,
The call has come ; I must arise ;
Go forth to live, and do and strive ;
To work in harness, fail or thrive ;
And in far regions of the earth
Make trial of my manhood's worth.”

He had taken a First Class in Greats at Oxford, and had commenced early to gather much material for an original philosophic treatise, but this was not destined to see the light.

“ He sought for truth, ever with mind austere, ”

writes Mr. Chapman with much beauty of thought and expression—

“ but when the year
Changed spring to winter many times, and still
No peace was found, he turned to what was near,
The cares of men, their toil, the fields they till.”

A footnote to one of Mr. Chapman's introductory sonnets tells us that all the manuscript material for his books on philosophy and economics, which Russell had selected to take home from India, lies at the bottom of the Mediterranean. The great works were not written. Had he lived longer he would undoubtedly have been entrusted with some high educational office. He was eminently fitted for such, and this was widely recognised. His noble death in the fields of Palestine, where he fell fighting with a valour and skill that all acknowledged, for country and what was to him literally the sacred cause of the world's liberty, cut his achievement short. But was this absence of achievement failure? There can be no hesitation in the answer. Russell's achievement lay in himself. The secret of his charm was himself—the eagerness, the adventurousness, the loftiness, the joy, the fun, the friendliness and the unselfishness of the man himself. The intellectual capacity of the man was doubtless great, but his character was greater. It may be doubted whether the works on philosophy and economics which he contemplated, but of which the progress was so slow, would have justified all the expectations of his friends.

It may still more be doubted whether Mr. Chapman is right in saying of "this verse of his" that it—

"has such power,
That when more proudly builded melodies
Have died away, his still will bring him praise
From men, and will inspire the distant hour."

But it will never be doubted by those who knew him that Charles Russell's was a singularly lofty, beautiful, frank and gifted nature, and that his friendship was an incentive and an inspiration. What more should a man aspire to? What shall new systems of philosophy and economics do that is better than to help, strengthen and make glad those who surround one?

His life was a quest of the good and true. To the fair and gracious lady who became his wife in 1914 he wrote—

"The Good, the Beautiful—I sought them once
In high Philosophy's austere domain ;

Till—suddenly, one day—I saw them plain :
You were beside me ; there incarnate stood,
Before my eyes, the Beautiful, the Good."

His filial tenderness finds expression in the lines in which he wrote of his Mother's—

"starry love,
Which lifts us to the skies above,
And all the world more holy makes."

His humour, keeping sane his seriousness, breaks out in such pieces as "Japan," the tender lines "To Nurse," and "Wandering," the last being in praise of tramps, of whom he announces—

"Yet Solomon, with all his wealth,
Had not their freedom nor their health ;
And most assuredly—ahem—
Was not arrayed like one of them !"

But if the secret of Russell's charm lay in a combination of delightful characteristics, it also lay in the fact that all these were grouped round a central quality, part revealed and part concealed, which in its highest form is selflessness. In his translations from Lucretius and the Buddhist classics he seems most nearly to attain to expression of his inmost thoughts. The ancient moralists' denunciations of "self-craving" and "thirst of life," of

"blind desire" and "passion's chains," are his denunciations too. Of restless spirits it is written—

"Lo! each man tries
Thus to escape from self; but vainly flies,
For self flies too, and clings unto him still."

The way out is unselfish work. Philosophy may leave life still an unknown country, but with this compass in one's hand the way may become clear. Russell's most characteristic lines are perhaps these—

"Life's meaning foils our thought,
" Baffles our brain;
Yet—hast thou wisdom bought—
Life's way is plain.

Brief for us gleams the light;
Death cometh sure:
Live thou thy span aright;
Strive and endure!"

J. G. JENNINGS.

**A GUIDE TO THE OLD OBSERVATORIES AT
DELHI, JAIPUR, UJJAIN, BENARES.—By
G. R. Kaye, F.R.A.S. (Calcutta, Superintendent,
Government Printing, 1920. Pp. 108. Illustrated.)**

The author explains that three years ago he examined on behalf of the Archæological Department the observatories that were founded by Maharaja Jai Singh of Jaipur A. D. 1686–1743 and the results of his investigations were embodied in Vol. 40 of the Archæological Survey. This volume is based on that larger work and should prove an extraordinarily interesting and useful guide to those who wish to understand the history and the original use of these great buildings. It is well arranged for this purpose, as it opens with a historical introduction and description of the instruments generally. It then deals with the separate observatories, and the historical value of Jai Singh's work. Appendices on latitudes and longitudes, equation of time and Hindu measures follow. It closes with a useful bibliography and glossary and a sufficient index.

There are many points of interest raised by the writer and some of them much debated. He declares

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that "generally speaking, Jai Singh's instruments are copies of, or direct developments from, those used by Ulugh Beg of Samarcand A. D. 1394—1449, and his predecessors and successors." He showed very considerable ingenuity in the actual constructions and in the use of his instruments, and in the verification and correction of previously recorded results, he showed closer contact with Muslim astronomy than Hindu. He was apparently indifferent to European achievements, but that may be explained by the fact that he had conceived and partially carried out his scheme of research, before he knew of the great advances in the West. The observatory at Delhi was probably built in 1724, and his tables were completed in 1728. In the latter year he sent Father Manuel to Europe, but Galileo's books were not removed from the Index till 1835. "Greenwich Observatory was founded some forty years before that at Delhi; Newton's *Principia* was written at the time of Jai Singh's birth; Huygens died a few years later; Flamsteed's catalogue of stars was first printed in 1688; Halley, in 1705, predicted the return of the comet named after him." Had Jai Singh followed the lines of research indicated by these discoveries, he might have been able to alter the whole condition of Indian scientific scholarship. As it was, his labours ended at his death.

LETTERS OF TRAVEL (1892—1913).—By Rudyard Kipling. (Macmillan & Co.)

This is a republication of letters contributed at various periods to the *Morning Post*, the *Times*, and *Nash's Magazine*. They deal mainly with travels in America, Canada, Japan, Egypt, and abound in the picturesque descriptions, quaint stories, and pointed criticisms which we expect from Kipling. The members of the overseas clubs express their thoughts on exile and on the problems of empire. The settlers in Canada describe how towns grow up, like a mushroom growth, almost in a single night, or how, sometimes, when they are expected to grow, they disappoint expectations and ruin those who placed their trust in real estate prospectuses. From a literary point of view the letters on Egypt are the most attractive, and one can almost feel the pressure of the desert on the narrow strip of cultivation and

civilisation which the Nile makes possible. The imperial setting of many of the thoughts seems almost out of date to us now, and makes us realise once more how much the war has changed things.

THE CAPTIVES.—By Hugh Walpole. (Macmillan's Empire Library.)

This is a sombre story, and though it is after the manner of some of the author's earlier books, it will hardly give the same amount of pleasure. The darkness is on the whole too unrelieved, and we are scarcely willing to admit that life is so much of a bondage and a show. The title indicates the main idea. It is a story of revolt against the tyranny of convention—especially religious convention, and the heroine—Maggie Cardinal—wins deliverance and peace only when she has burst the bonds not only of religious, but also of social convention. Her character is vigorously drawn and her passionate desire for independence is consistently dominant. She is in bondage three times over, first to her somewhat vulgar father, then to her fanatical aunts and the no less fanatical fellow members of the Kingscote brethren sect, and finally to her ultra conventional and slothfully minded husband. The description of the ways of the Kingscote brethren is excellent, and the effect produced is skilfully analysed. The sceptic of the community comes to the conclusion that though many of the beliefs are based on elaborate self-deception, yet they are all attempts to realise the something—the mysterious, unescapable "something"—which is behind all religious faith. In this book, as in his other novels, Mr. Walpole is unsurpassed in his power of setting forth the emotional effect of a particular physical environment.

THE WISE BEASTS OF HINDUSTAN.—By Harry W. Pike. (Carey Press.)

Mr. Pike gives us an English version of the well-known collection of Indian tales and fables, *Hitopadisha*. The book is not a translation, as a good deal of the original text has been omitted and the dialogue has been altered to suit the taste of English children for whom it is intended. The stories are of a kind that cannot but

attract children, witty and wise, with the never-failing magic of the jungle and talking beasts and birds.

The morals are not pointed, because to any intelligent child they are obvious; and, as the writer says, "English boys and girls like to find things out for themselves!"

The illustrations in colour by the author himself are charming with that simplicity of composition that appeals to children. They manage to convey some of the spirit of old Indian paintings in line and colour and have certainly caught the spirit of the stories. The clever line drawings and marginal sketches by E. G. Pierce are also excellent.

Children between seven and ten years of age would bless Father Christmas if he included this among his gifts.

PERIODICALS.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.—July 1920.

The book which is being reviewed in every periodical at present, has the place of honour in this issue, and Viscount Esher giving an interesting criticism of the concluding volumes of Mr. Buckle's *Life of Lord Beaconsfield*. The third article is a fascinating study of conditions of Roman life and thought in the second century of our era; and the manner in which Lord Ernle appreciates the work of Apuleius is worthy of comparison with the extraordinarily vivid treatment of that period given by Dill, Glover, and other writers in their well-known books. Mrs. Oakley discusses the attitude of Mr. Alfred Lyall to Indian problems, and incidentally refers to the "valuable and interesting book" on "Indian Nationality" recently published by Mr. R. N. Gilchrist, who is well known to readers of the *Calcutta Review*. The most profound article in this number is on "The Idea of Progress" by R. H. Murray, but it is doubtful whether it helps towards the clearing of our ideas on this most elusive topic. It is rather startling to find, however, how comparatively modern the idea of progress is. The article on Mrs. Humphrey Ward is both interesting and illuminating. "The Problem of the Austrian Republic," by Dr. Josef Redlich, suggests that there is much occasion for pessimistic thought on the political and economic feature of that country.

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.—July 1920.

This number opens with a review of the recently published life of Lord Kitchener, and the review is as appreciative of the great Field-Marshal as is the writer of the biography. An excellent philosophical article by Mr. Butler Burke treats of the relations between Intellect and Intuition, and theosophists would do well to study some of its conclusions. Philosophy is also represented in Mr. Ballard's account of materialistic follies in a discussion which he appropriately calls "The Last Flicker of Materialism." Mr. J. Alfred Faulkner ably defends Luther against the charge of responsibility for the Great War, and a well-timed article on the Pilgrim Fathers sets forth their bravery and their intolerance and gives them due credit for the part they played in the foundation of the American Commonwealth. Mr. E. J. Thompson writes interestingly upon his visit to Jerusalem during the Palestine Campaign.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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